

The Arabic Dialect of Sūsa (Tunisia)

By
FATHI TALMOUDI



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ABSTRACT

Title: The Arabic Dialect of Sūsa (Tunisia)
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A gap between Classical Arabic and the different dialects causes a very serious problem in the Arabic speaking countries. The first mentioned form is prestigious and practically the only language form considered in the Arab world to be worthy of serious study and linguistic care. The different dialects have been ignored due to many reasons, inter alia the variation of the different dialects.

The aim of this study is to fill a gap in Tunisian dialectology since there have been, when compared with other subjects, few studies devoted to colloquial Tunisian Arabic. The main task of this study is to give a precise linguistic description of the genuine dialect of Sūsa which is spoken in the old city, the Medina.

A structural and consistent description of the language spoken in the whole of modern Sūsa is impossible to achieve due to the population explosion and the violent immigration of the sixties and seventies. In this phonological and morphological study the description is, however, not solely based on the indisputable, genuine idiom of the old generation, but large consideration is given to the linguistic change which is reflected in the vernacular of the younger generation.

After the descriptive part, which is a synchronic description of the colloquial speech of the Medina of Sūsa, where segmental phonemes, suprasegmental features, phonological and morphophonological alternations, verbal system and nominal morphology are discussed in detail. A non-islamic Arabic dialect of the Jews in Tunis and another sedentary Western dialect (the dialect of Cherchell, Algeria) are compared with the dialect of Sūsa in order to show up their different linguistic characteristics. Finally the last part of the study is devoted to particularize the different Tunisian dialect groups and furthermore outline major dialect boundaries by using selected features of the dialects.

Key words: Phonology and Morphology, Semitic Linguistics, Arabic Dialectology, North African Dialects.

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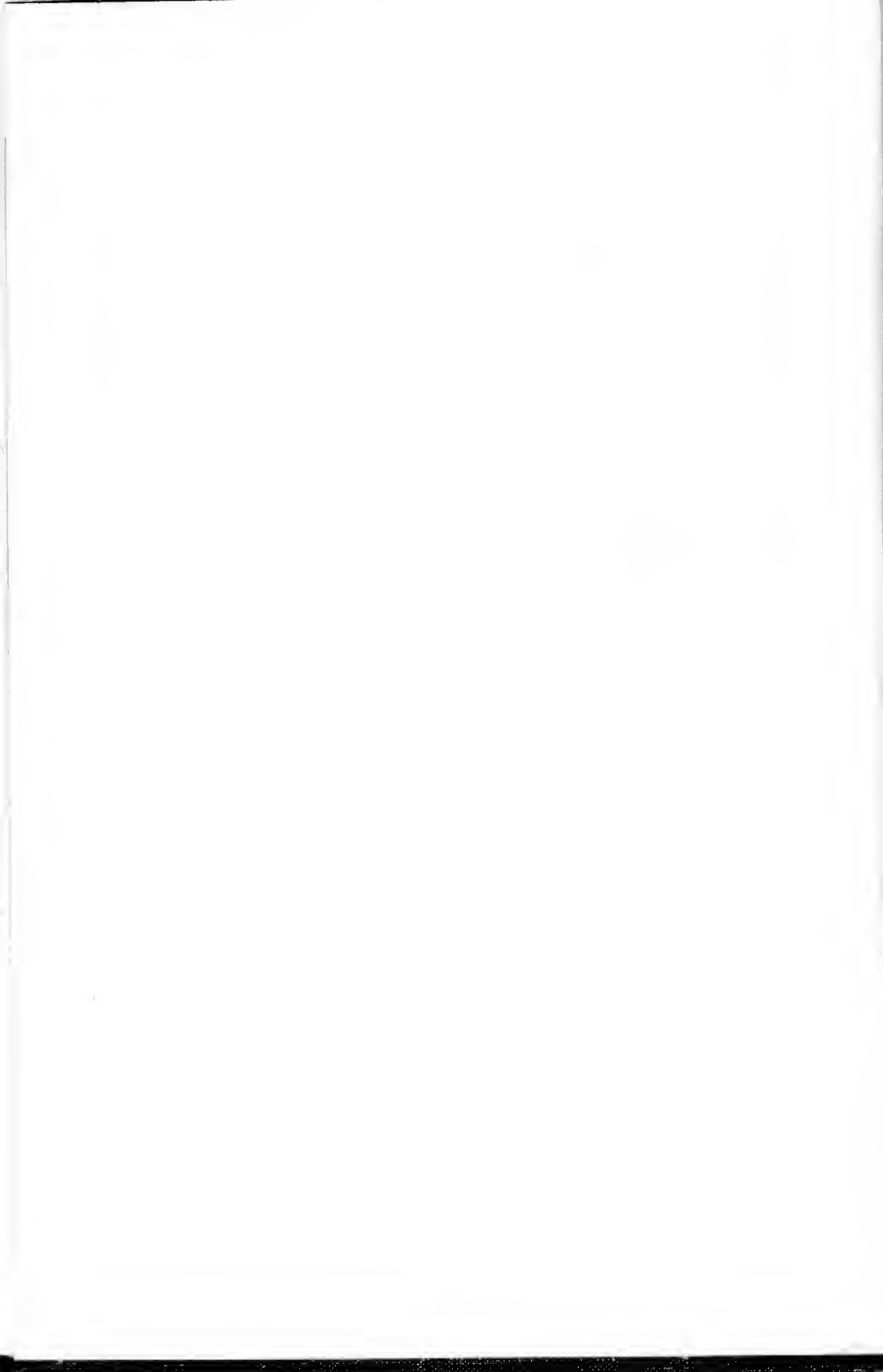
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Gothenburg, September 1979

Fathi Talmoudi



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Introduction

0.1 General

The gap between the written language and the different dialects (spoken vernaculars) causes a very serious problem in the Arabic speaking countries. The first-mentioned is prestigious and practically the only language form considered in the Arab world to be worthy of serious study and linguistic care. The different dialects had been ignored due to many reasons, inter alia the variation of the different dialects which had led to the general delusion that vernaculars have neither grammar nor rules. This argument is, naturally, wrong since each genuine dialect has a proper linguistic system, the structure of which can be compared with the structure of any other language form. In other words each genuine dialect has its own grammar which linguistically speaking is neither "better" nor "worse" than any other grammar.

The fact that the spoken dialects were prevented from playing the role of the official language in the Arab world depends on deep historical reasons, in the first place religious and national. Classical Arabic is the language of the Koran and the common language form which unifies all the Arab countries. This fact also has its drawbacks in the different countries. The North African population for example suffers from a very serious linguistic disease. Learning Classical Arabic at school is not the way to abolish illiteracy, thereby raising social standards. The North African countries urgently need a written form of spoken Arabic which allows the use of the different dialects at school and in daily administrative matters. Uneducated and semi-educated people must be able to write and read in their own mother tongue because it is *a priori* unjustified to ask them to leave their own dialect for the benefit of an unmastered and rather more complicated language. A deeper study of the Norwegian educational policy and school system would perhaps be of good help for the creating of such a written language form.

0.2 The Arabic dialects

The Arabic dialects can be roughly divided into two main groups: Western and Eastern. The boundary between these two groups can be drawn approximately from the Salum gulf on the East Egyptian border to lake Chad in North Central Africa. This geographical division should as any other dialect geography in the Arab world be completed with a further division based on the different cultural traditions, principally sedentary and nomadic. Compared with each other, the dialects reveal a certain individuality: phonological, morphological and syntactical peculiarities can be noticed in the different vernaculars. Phonologically the Western dialects differ from the Eastern ones e.g. by the loss of short vowels in initial open syllables, which is due to different accent patterns, and the complete disappearance of the stop /ʔ/. Morphologically there are features which can be considered to be typical of the Western dialects such as the presence of the prefix /nV/ in the first person singular of the imperfect, replacing the prefix /ʔV/ in Old Arabic. The suffix /u/ in the imperfect in the first person plural, and the new verb form *fʔa:l* (e.g. /kḥa:l/ 'he has become black') are also typical Western features.

0.3 The Tunisian dialects

The Tunisian dialects can be roughly divided into four main groups:

The Sāḥil dialects

They are of two main types: urban and semi-urban. The semi-urban dialects spoken in small villages as Ksibet Sūsa and Khnis display features of both nomadic and sedentary dialects.

The Northern dialects

They can also be divided into two types: urban and rural. The villagers on the left side of Oued Medjerda speak so-called *ǧba:li*-dialects (mountain dialects) which have features in common with North East Algerian vernaculars.

The Central Western dialects

They are subdivided into two groups: rural and nomadic. The rural dialects resemble in several respects the East Arabic dialects.

The Southern dialects

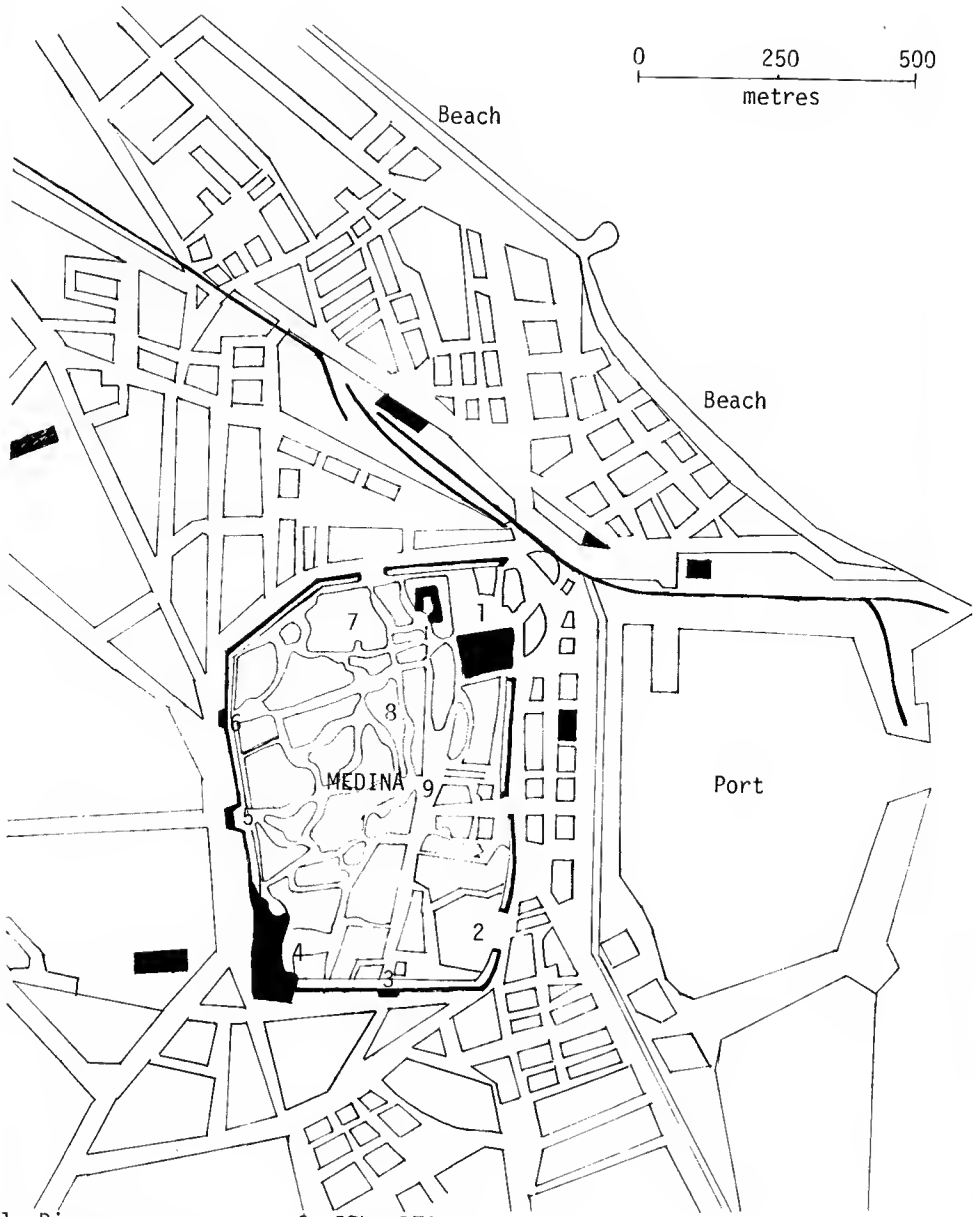
They are divided into three main groups: urban dialects in Sfax, rural in the oases and nomadic. The latter is spoken by semi-pastoral people in Sahara.

0.4 Sūsa (Sousse)

The Phoenicians established a port in Sūsa of an unknown name long before their final settlement in Carthage. Later it got the name Hadrumatum that the Roman emperor Trajan changed to Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Frigifura Hadrumatina. The Vandals named the town Hurinicipolis and the Byzantines Justiniana. The Arabs gave it its present name and made it to a very important religious centre which attained its zenith under the Aghlabid dynasty at the beginning of the ninth century. The Arabs built the walls and gave the old city its present boundaries. Since the seventh century and up to the end of the nineteenth only Muslims were allowed to reside in the Medina. Jews and other minorities lived around the city. The majority of merchants settled near the famous market Sūq Irrbaⁿ which attracted the villagers who used to buy or sell their goods. Due to the limited housing possibility, outsiders who worked in the city were obliged to live in other places such as Sahlūl and Hammām Sūsa. The isolation of the inhabitants of Sūsa was mainly guaranteed by the Bourgeoisie who possessed all the buildings in the Medina and strictly controlled all kinds of immigration. Marriage was the only way to settlement. This system made it very difficult for merchants from bigger cities to settle in Sūsa. At the end of the nineteenth century it became easier for Jews and villagers to live or to possess a shop in the Medina. This did not however affect the old dialect of Sūsa. The immigrants tried of recent years to learn the genuine dialect in order to become integrated to the society.

The population explosion and the violent immigration of the sixties and seventies made of Sūsa a big town with 192.000 inhabitants, while the figure of 1962 was only 50.000. This radical change affected mostly the environments of the city in spite of the infiltration of villagers in many places in the Medina which now has about 40.000 inhabitants.

Sūsa



- | | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| 1 Big mosque | 6 Bāb elFinga |
| 2 zabbānit elGhorba | 7 ElMasni |
| 3 Bāb elqibli | 8 Irrahba |
| 4 Qaşba | 9 Sūq Irrba |
| 5 Bāb elGharbi | |

0.5 The aim, corpus and method of the study

The main task of the present study is to give a precise linguistic description of the genuine dialect of Sūsa which is spoken in the old city, the Medina. A structural and consistent description of the language spoken in the whole modern Sūsa is impossible to achieve due to the above-mentioned development in the town during the last two decades. It is of course always a difficult task to decide whether a language form is genuine or not, but I proceeded from the definition that genuineness can be defined in terms of the nature of the linguistic development. As far as the direction of the development substantially is determined by the innerdialectal trend, we can call a given dialect genuine. As soon as the development is due substantially to outside interference, the dialect - for some time, at least - ceases to be a wholly autonomous linguistic structure.

In this study I have not, however, solely based the description on the indisputable, genuine idiom of the old generation but have also considered the linguistic change which is reflected in the vernacular of the younger generation. After the descriptive part I shall with the support of the accessible dialect material particularize the different Tunisian dialect groups and furthermore outline major dialect boundaries by using selected features of the dialects. A non-islamic Arabic dialect, i.e. the Arabic dialect of the Jews in Tunis and an other sedentary Western dialect (the dialect of Cherchell, Algeria) will also be compared with the dialect of Sūsa in order to show up their different linguistic characteristics.

This study is based on the colloquial speech of the Medina of Sūsa and the other Tunisian dialects. The material of the study was gathered in three parts. The first part was recorded in Sūsa while the second part was recorded in Gothenburg in Sweden. The informants in Sūsa came from three different districts, namely, Irrahba, Bab elGharbi and elMasni^o. During the two months July and August 1978 the author, who was born in Sūsa and lived there until 1974, did intensive work with about twenty informants whose age varied between twelve and seventy years. Both sexes were equally represented. During the same period he had the opportunity to speak with people of a wide range of social status and at the same time make linguistic observations. The recordings consist of anecdotes, tales, personal narratives and local popular songs. The informants in Sweden also came from Sūsa and lived in the Medina before they moved to Gothenburg. The author took different precautions to insure that the speakers used genuinely colloquial speech.

The recordings made here consist of set sentences, discussions and answers to the author's questions. The third part was recorded during the months June, July and August 1979. The author traveled round Tunisia and did intensive work with many informants living in different places in the country. The recordings consist of anecdotes, tales, personal narratives, popular songs and answers to the author's questions.

0.6 Previous studies

The aim of this study is to fill a gap in Tunisian dialectology since there have been, when compared with other subjects, few studies devoted to colloquial Tunisian Arabic. The Tunisian dialects have long remained almost unstudied. In 1896, STUMME published 'Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch nebst Glossar' which is the first linguistic description of Tunisian Arabic. W. MARÇAIS and A. GUIGA published (1925) a collection of folk tales and songs from Takroûna. 'Trois textes arabes d'El-Hâmma de Gabès' (1931-1933) consists of Arabic texts collected by W. MARÇAIS and J. FARÈS. BACCOUCHE's 'Description phonologique du parler arabe de Djemmal', is a phonological description of the dialect spoken in Djemmal with texts and translations. The dialect of Gabès has been studied by CANTINEAU (1951) and by H. SKIK (1969). The collection of texts of D. COHEN 'Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis' (1964) and the linguistic study of the same dialect published later (1975) are available. Besides, there are some other general articles such as BORRMAN's (1969) 'A propos d'une nouvelle grammaire arabe tunisienne', SKIK's 'Les problèmes linguistiques en Tunisie' (1969), 'Une enquête statistique sur le vocabulaire de l'enfant tunisien' (1972) and BACCOUCHE's 'Le phonème /g/ dans les parlers arabes citadins de Tunisie' (1972). Finally a recent study on Tunisian Arabic is the American-style book by M. MAAMOURI 'The phonology of Tunisian Arabic' (1968) which is a synchronic description of present-day educated colloquial Tunisian Arabic. The study was primarily based on the author's dialect, the dialect spoken in Nabeul. Segmental phonemes, suprasegmental features and morphophonological alternations were discussed in detail.

0.7 Symbolism

As far as possible the terms and the transcriptions of the International Phonetic Alphabet are used. The following symbols have the indicated values:

/ / = phoneme, allomorph

[] = phone

{ } = morpheme

C = any consonant

V = any vowel

:

~ = alternation

Emphasis is indicated by the symbol ~ under the pertinent consonants. With Classical Arabic the author means Old Arabic as described by old Grammarians.

Segmental phonemes

The consonants

- ء a voiceless laryngeal stop
ب b a voiced bilabial stop
ت t a voiceless dental stop
ث θ a voiceless interdental fricative
ج ǧ a voiced palatoalveolar fricative or [dʒ] a prepalatal affricate
ح ḥ a voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ ḫ a voiceless uvular fricative
د d a voiced dental stop
ذ ḏ a voiced interdental fricative
ر r a voiced alveolar trill
ز z a voiced postdental fricative
س s a voiceless postdental fricative
ش š a voiceless front palatal fricative
ص ṣ a voiceless emphatic postdental fricative
ض ḍ a voiced emphatic interdental fricative
ط ṭ a voiceless emphatic alveolar stop
ظ ḏ a voiced emphatic interdental fricative
ع ʕ a voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ ġ a voiced uvular fricative
ف f a voiceless labiodental fricative
ق { q a voiceless uvular stop
g a voiced velar stop
ك k a voiceless velar stop
ل l a voiced dental lateral
م m a voiced bilabial nasal
ن n a voiced postdental nasal
ه h a voiceless laryngeal fricative

ɹ w a voiced labial semi-vowel
ɹ y a voiced palatal semi-vowel

The vowels

i close front
ü close rounded front
e half close front
ɛ half open front
a open front
ɑ open back
ə central half open half close
o half close back
u close back

Phonology and Phonotactics

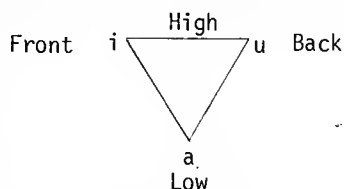
I THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE

1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

1.1.1 The vowel system

The dialect of Sūsa has, as Classical Arabic, three vowel phonemes, namely /a/, /i/ and /u/.¹

Figure 1: The vowel phonemes



Due to the fact that it does not have more than three vowel phonemes the dialect has many allophones which occur depending on the surrounding consonants. The phoneme /a/ has allophones [a], [a], [ε] and [e]. The allophones [a], [a], and [ε] also occur as long vowels.

[ʔarbi]	: Arab
[rab:i]	: my God
[raqba]	: neck
[mεrkəb]	: boat
[terkib]	: you ride
[ʔa:lim]	: scholar
[qa:ʔüd]	: sitting
[nε:fiʔ]	: useful

¹ The dialect of El-Hâmma has three short vowel phonemes and five long ones, see CANTINEAU, *Analyse phonologique du parler d'El-Hâmma de Gabès*, pp. 216-219. In the Jewish dialect in Tunis there are as many vowel phonemes as in the dialect of Sūsa, see D. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, II p. 50.

The phoneme /u/ has allophones [u] and [o] . Both allophones can be short and long:

[kul:]	: any
[ktub]	: books
[nqos]	: it was reduced
[mɛktu:b]	: destiny
[marʒo:ʒ]	: crowded

The phoneme /i/ has allophones [i] and [ü] . Both allophones can be long and short:

[min]	: from
[tɛ:ʒir]	: merchant
[hüb:]	: love (imp.)
[rki:k]	: stupid
[shü:h]	: strong, right

The dialect of Sūsa has then three vowel phonemes and eight allophones. The short vowels, especially /i/ and /u/, frequently also /a/ are dropped in open unstressed syllables in most Arabic sedentary dialects, the last-mentioned vowel, however, most often only after a total or partial assimilation to the vowel of the next syllable (vowel harmony), e.g. CiCa:C>CCa:C, CuCa:C>CCa:C, CaCi:C>CiCi:C/CəCi:C>CCi:C.

/kita:b/	: book > /kta:b/
/tura:b/	: sand > /tra:b/
/qari:b/	: near > /qri:b/

The loss of short vowels in unstressed open syllables is quite frequent in all the Tunisian dialects. Thus the older /qarub/ (cf. Cl. qaruba) yields /qrub/ in the dialect of Sūsa.

/haraba/	: to run away > /hrab/	(CaCâC>CCaC)
/katiba/	: to write > /ktib/	(CaCîC>CCiC)

/a/ - /i/

/qaʒ:a/	: a cloth
/qiʒ:a/	: a fairy tale

/a/ - /u/

/rad:/	: he answered
/rud:/	: answer (imp.)

/i/ - /u/
 /qⁱḡ:/ : tell (imp.)
 /q^uḡ:/ : cut (imp.)
 /a:/ - /i:/
 /ʔa:r/ : he got jealous
 /ʔi:r/ : else than
 /a:/ - /u:/
 /qa:m/ : he got up
 /qu:m/ : get up (imp.)
 /i:/ - /u:/
 /ḡi:f/ : summer
 /ḡu:f/ : wool

The dialect of Sūsa has, as Classical Arabic, two falling diphthongs, /aw/ and /ay/. In Sūsa the older diphthongs have normally been preserved in final position, where their second component is doubled when preceded by a short /a/. Medially and initially the older /aw/ and /ay/ have been normally monophthongised into /u:/ and /i:/ respectively.²

[ḡay:] : living
 [ḡaw:] : light
 [ʔü:ra] (</ʔayra/) : jealousy
 [tu:qü:f] (</tawqi:f/) : stopping

1.1.2 The consonant system

Stops

Labial consonants

/b/ - /t/
 /ba:b/ : door
 /ta:b/ : he repented
 /b/ - /ṭ/
 /bra/ : he got cured
 /ṭra/ : it became soft
 /b/ - /d/
 /bha:yim/ : donkeys
 /dha:yim/ : stupid people

² See p. 55 below.

/b/ - /k/

/ba:s/ : he kissed

/ka:s/ : glass

/b/ - /q/

/ba:l/ : he urinated

/qa:l/ : he said

/b/ - /f/

/bu:q/ : loudspeaker

/fu:q/ : over

In spite of the following oppositions [ɸ] cannot be considered as an independent phoneme.

[lɸɛ:ɸɛ] : soft inside of bread

[lɸa:ɸa] : to my father

[ɸɛ:ʃ] : shall (a morpheme indicating future)

[ɸa:ʃ] : material used as a shelter

Pharyngalization is in this particular case used as a non-contrastive distributional feature in order to distinguish between homonyms. Since the shift from [ɸ] to [b] normally does not influence the meaning of the word, [ɸ] can most properly be defined as an allophone of /b/.

Dental consonants

/t/ - /d/

/tal:/ : iron wire

/dal:/ : he showed the way

/t/ - /t̪/

/ta:b/ : he repented

/t̪a:b/ : it cooked ready

/t/ - /k/

/ta:yib/ : repent

/ka:yib/ : someone bored

/t/ - /q/

/yti:m/ : orphan

/yqi:m/ : he carries

/t/ - /f/

/ta:q/ : he endured

/fa:q/ : he woke up

/t/ - /θ/

/ta:yib/ : repent

/θa:yib/ : benefactor

/d/ - /t̥/

/dub:/ : bear

/t̥ub:/ : medicine

/d/ - /k/

/dab:ir/ : think (imp.)

/kab:ir/ : make it bigger (imp.)

/d/ - /q/

/dub:a/ : bear (female)

/qub:a/ : dome

/d/ - /θ/

/da:r/ : house

/θa:r/ : he revolted

/d/ - /ð/

/dab:/ : he went slowly

/ðab:/ : he jumped

Alveolar consonants

/t̥/ - /k/

/t̥ab:a/ : a piece of land

/kab:a/ : a throw

/t̥/ - /q/

/t̥al^oa/ : hill, slope

/qal^oa/ : fort

/t̥/ - /f/

/t̥al:iq/ : divorce (imp.)

/fal:iq/ : slash (imp.)

/t̥/ - /θ/

/t̥i:qa/ : troublesome

/θi:qa/ : honest

/t̥/ - /ð/

/t̥a:b/ : it cooked ready

/ða:b/ : it melted

/t̥/ - /ʈ/

/t̥ba^o/ : character

/ʈba^o/ : wild cat

Velar consonants

/k/ - /q/

/kub:a/ : yarn

/qub:a/ : dome

/k/ - /ʃ/

/kma:l/ : perfection

/ʃma:l/ : left

/k/ - /x/

/kxam:/ : fig-trees

/xxam:/ : sewage

/g/ has the same point of articulation as /k/ but is accompanied by the vibration of the vocal cords. In the dialect of Sūsa it occurs frequently, but in the genuine dialect of the older generation in the Medina its occurrence is restricted to a limited number (about 30) of lexical items suspect of being old loans from the dialect of the countryside. Such words are, e.g. [gd̪im] 'he bit', [gd̪if] 'he vomited', [d̪ɛg:] 'he stuck' and [mr̪iig:] 'he was made a fool of'. In other lexical items it is regarded as negligent and ill-mannered to use [g]. Instead, most of the speakers in the older generation and women in particular, consistently use [q] or [k]. In some cases there are differences between the two last groups too. Thus [gɛmi:lɛ] 'food keeper' (which is the current form of the word in the suburbs and among the younger generation) is pronounced [kɛmi:lɛ] by the majority of women and [qɛmi:lɛ] by all men in the older generation in the Medina.

Generally it can be noticed that [g] up till now has been infiltrated into the vernacular of the Medina to a little extent only. In the new suburbs, on the other hand, [g] is relatively as frequent as /k/ and /q/ in many lexical items, no doubt due to the mass immigration of villagers from the countryside in the fifties. Boys of the younger generation in the Medina tend to replace [q] by [g] in most lexical items in order to appear as tough. (A sociolinguistic phenomenon related to slang.)

Now it might seem uncertain whether or not [g] could be defined as an independent phoneme in the genuine dialect of the Medina of Sūsa. Even if the lexical items where it is used by women and speakers in the older generation most probably are loans from dialects having the phoneme /g/, the relatively high number of words where the pronunciation of [g] is well-established, justifies, in my opinion, the definition of /g/ as an independent phoneme.

/gd̪im/ : he bit

/qd̪im/ : it became older

/gd̪if/ : he vomited

/qd̪if/ : he rowed

/gru:r/ : horns

/qru:r/ : centuries

<i>/gurbɪ/</i>	: hut	<i>/qurbɪ/</i>	: my nearness
<i>/dag:/</i>	: he stuck	<i>/daq:/</i>	: he knocked

In the old genuine dialect [q] and [g] are in lexical distribution; in the koineized 'Sūsi' of the suburbs and of the younger generation the pattern is changed: [g] is rather a stylistic variant of [q] and can replace it anywhere, whereas the /g/ in early loans cannot be replaced by /q/.

/g/ - /b/

<i>/rɪ:ga/</i>	: salive
<i>/rɪ:ba/</i>	: personality

/g/ - /t/

<i>/gan:ariy:a/</i>	: artichoke
<i>/tan:ariy:a/</i>	: hut

/g/ - /d/

<i>/rɪ:ga/</i>	: salive
<i>/rɪ:da/</i>	: a big change

/g/ - /t̥/

<i>/galba/</i>	: twenty litres
<i>/t̥alba/</i>	: request

/g/ - /k/

<i>/gasba/</i>	: bamboo-cane
<i>/kasba/</i>	: a purchase

/g/ - /q/

<i>/gru:n/</i>	: horns
<i>/qru:n/</i>	: centuries

/g/ - /f/

<i>/gurbɪ/</i>	: hut
<i>/furbi/</i>	: private plans

/g/ - /θ/

<i>/gu:m/</i>	: rubber
<i>/θu:m/</i>	: garlic

/g/ - /ð/

<i>/ʰga:b/</i>	: falcon
<i>/ʰða:b/</i>	: torture

/g/ - /ʒ/

<i>/gʷɪd:/</i>	: make it good (imp.)
<i>/ʒɪd:/</i>	: contrary

/g/ - /s/

<i>/ga:nɪd/</i>	: hidden
<i>/sa:nɪd/</i>	: support (imp.)

/g/ - /s/	
/ga:yid/	: governor
/ga:yid/	: hunting
/g/ - /z/	
/gitu:n/	: tent
/zitu:n/	: olives
/g/ - /ʒ/	
/gli:l/	: rare
/ʒli:l/	: respected
/g/ - /ʃ/	
/gurbi/	: hut
/ʃurbi/	: my wine
/g/ - /x/	
/gdim/	: he bit
/xdim/	: he worked
/g/ - /ʎ/	
/gasba/	: bamboo-cane
/ʎasba/	: an obligation
/g/ - /ʎ/	
/ga:nid/	: hidden
/ʎa:nid/	: be obstinate (imp.)
/g/ - /h/	
/ri:ga/	: saline
/ri:ha/	: odour
/g/ - /h/	
/gurbi/	: hut
/hurbi/	: my flight
/g/ - /m/	
/gid:/	: make it good (imp.)
/mid:/	: take out (imp.)
/g/ - /n/	
/ga:di/	: fix (imp.)
/na:di/	: call (imp.)
/g/ - /r/	
/gdim/	: he bit
/rdim/	: he buried
/g/ - /l/	
/gu:m/	: rubber
/lu:m/	: reproach

/g/ - /w/

/gid:/ : make it good (imp.)

/wid:/ : give something good (imp.)

/g/ - /y/

/gid:/ : make it good (imp.)

/yid:/ : hand

Uvular consonants

/g/ - /x/

/qirba/ : waterskin

/xirba/ : ruins

/g/ - /ʕ/

/yaqli/ : he is frying something

/yaʕli/ : he is boiling (angry)

/g/ - /ħ/

/ga:l/ : he said

/ħa:l/ : state

Fricatives

Labiodental consonants

/f/ - /θ/

/fa:r/ : rat

/θa:r/ : he revolted

/f/ - /ð/

/fa:t/ : he passed by

/ða:t/ : originality, essence

/f/ - /ʃ/

/fna/ : he worked himself to death

/ʃna/ : baby

/f/ - /s/

/fu:q/ : over

/su:q/ : market

/f/ - /ʒ/

/fuk:ni/ : let me loose (imp.)

/ʒuk:ni/ : kick me (imp.)

/f/ - /ʒ/

/fna/ : he worked himself to death

/ʒna/ : he harvested

- /θ/ - /z/
 /iθ:a:ni/ : the second
 /iz:a:ni/ : the adulterer
 /θ/ - /ʒ/
 /θa:yir/ : revolting
 /ʒa:yir/ : suffering from indigestion
 /θ/ - /ʃ/
 /θahl̥u:l/ : (skin) eruption
 /ʃahl̥u:l/ : sweet (adj.)
 /θ/ - /x/
 /θa:yib/ : benefactor
 /xa:yib/ : dishonest
 /θ/ - /ʎ/
 /θni/ : a two-year old animal
 /ʎni/ : rich
 /θ/ - /ʳ/
 /θa:r/ : he revolted
 /ʳa:r/ : shame
 /θ/ - /h/
 /θna:ya/ : roads
 /hma:ya/ : my happiness
 /θ/ - /h̥/
 /θni:n/ : two
 /h̥ni:n/ : merciful
 /θ/ - /m/
 /θray:a/ : pendant lamp
 /mray:a/ : wife (dim.)

 /ð/ - /ð̥/
 /ða:yɪ̯ʳ/ : loud-voiced
 /ð̥a:yɪ̯ʳ/ : lost
 /ð/ - /s/
 /ðab:/ : he jumped
 /sab:/ : he swore
 /ð/ - /z/
 /ðal:a/ : shame
 /zal:a/ : mistake
 /ð/ - /ʒ/
 /ða:b/ : it melted
 /ʒa:b/ : he brought

/f/ - /ʃ/

/ʃal:/ : he collapsed

/ʃal:/ : he got diarrhea

/f/ - /x/

/fa:l/ : prediction of bad news

/xa:l/ : maternal uncle

/f/ - /ʎ/

/ʃal:a/ : jasmine

/ʎal:a/ : fruit

/f/ - /ʀ/

/fa:r/ : rat

/ʀa:r/ : shame

/f/ - /h/

/fna/ : he worked himself to death

/hna/ : happiness

/f/ - /h̥/

/ʃa:n/ : art

/h̥a:n/ : he became merciful

/f/ - /m/

/ʃar̥/ : obligation

/mar̥/ : illness

/f/ - /n/

/fa:s/ : pick (axe)

/na:s/ : people

Interdental consonants

/θ/ - /ð/

/θa:yib/ : almsgiver

/ða:yib/ : melting

/θ/ - /ð̥/

/θna:ya/ : roads

/ð̥na:ya/ : my baby

/θ/ - /s/

/iθ:a:nya/ : the second (fem.)

/is:a:nya/ : the farm

/θ/ - /ʒ/

/θu:m/ : garlic

/ʒu:m/ : fast (imp.)

/ð/ - /ʃ/	
/ði:b/	: wolf
/ʃi:b/	: old age
/ð/ - /x/	
/ðab:a/	: a jump
/xab:a/	: he hid
/ð/ - /ʎ/	
/ðal:a/	: shame
/ʎal:a/	: fruit
/ð/ - /ʳ/	
/ða:yiq/	: tasting
/ʳa:yiq/	: very troublesome
/ð/ - /h/	
/yðib:/	: he jumps
/yhib:/	: it blows
/ð/ - ɸ/	
/ðab:/	: he jumped
/ɸab:/	: he loved
/ð/ - /n/	
/ða:b/	: it melted
/na:b/	: incisor
/ð̥/ - /s/	
/ð̥na/	: baby
/sna/	: years
/ð̥/ - /ʒ/	
/ð̥i:f/	: guest
/ʒi:f/	: summer
/ð̥/ - /z/	
/ð̥na:t/	: she got pregnant
/zna:t/	: she committed adultery
/ð̥/ - /ʒ/	
/ð̥na/	: baby
/ʒna/	: he harvested
/ð̥/ - /ʃ/	
/ð̥rab/	: he hit
/ʃrab/	: he drank
/ð̥/ - /x/	
/ð̥alʳa/	: rib
/xalʳa/	: door-brake

/ʔ/ - /ʔ/

/ʔna/ : baby

/ʔna/ : songs

/ʔ/ - /ʔ/

/ʔya:fa/ : hospitality

/ʔya:fa/ : sickness

/ʔ/ - /h/

/ʔna/ : baby

/hna/ : here

/ʔ/ - /h/

/ʔni:t/ : I got pregnant

/hni:t/ : I became hunchbacked

/ʔ/ - /m/

/ʔar:a/ : a wife in a harem

/mar:a/ : once

/ʔ/ - /n/

/ʔa:biʔ/ : crazy

/na:biʔ/ : streaming

Dental consonants

/s/ - /ʃ/

/sab:/ : he swore

/ʃab:/ : he poured

/s/ - /z/

/sal:a/ : pull

/zal:a/ : mistake

/s/ - /ʒ/

/sra/ : it flowed

/ʒra/ : he ran

/s/ - /ʃ/

/star/ : he did not show, he concealed

/ʃtar/ : half

/s/ - /x/

/say:ib/ : he released

/xay:ib/ : he (made someone) disappointed

/s/ - /ʃ/

/sal:a/ : pull

/ʃal:a/ : fruit

/s/ - /ʳ/	
/saɫ:ɪf/	: lend (imp.)
/ʳaɫ:ɪf/	: feed (imp.)
/s/ - /h/	
/sna/	: years
/hna/	: here
/s/ - /h̥/	
/sin:a/	: tooth
/h̥in:a/	: henna
/s/ - /m/	
/sra/	: it flowed
/mra/	: woman
/s/ - /n/	
/sa:yir/	: going
/na:yir/	: shining
/ʒ/ - /z/	
/ʒaf:/	: queue
/zaf:/	: big liar
/ʒ/ - /ʒ/	
/ʒar:/	: bundle
/ʒar:/	: trees
/ʒ/ - /ʃ/	
/ʒa:yib/	: right (person)
/ʃa:yib/	: old man
/ʒ/ - /x/	
/ʒa:yib/	: right (person)
/xa:yib/	: dishonest
/ʒ/ - /ʎ/	
/ʒaɫ:a/	: he prayed
/ʎaɫ:a/	: fruit
/ʒ/ - /ʳ/	
/ʒab:a/	: mould
/ʳab:a/	: he filled
/ʒ/ - /h/	
/ʒa:yin/	: protector
/ha:yin/	: insignificant
/ʒ/ - /h̥/	
/ʒli:b/	: cross
/h̥li:b/	: milk

/ʒ/ - /m/

/gʁa:ya/ : house of flats

/mra:ya/ : mirror

/ʒ/ - /n/

/gʁu:r/ : surrounding wall

/nu:r/ : light

/z/ - /ʒ/

/za:ni/ : adulterer

/ʒa:ni/ : he came to me

/z/ - /ʃ/

/zaʎ:/ : he made a mistake

/ʃaʎ:/ : he got diarrhea

/z/ - /x/

/zaʃ:/ : big liar

/xaʃ:/ : he felt relieved

/z/ - /ʎ/

/zaʎ:a/ : mistake

/ʎaʎ:a/ : fruit

/z/ - /ʁ/

/za:yif/ : false

/ʁa:yif/ : sick

/z/ - /h/

/zna/ : adultery

/hna/ : here

/z/ - /ħ/

/za:ni/ : adulterer

/ħa:ni/ : hunchbacked

/z/ - /m/

/zi:t/ : oil

/mi:t/ : dead

/z/ - /n/

/za:yif/ : false

/na:yif/ : emaciated

There is also an emphatic variant of /z/ in the dialect of Sūsa but it cannot be regarded as a proper phoneme. That pharyngalisation here is not primarily due to the phonetic environments but is rather used in order to call forth certain stylistic effects, can be illustrated by following instances: [zdimt ʔli:h] 'I fell upon him' and [z̤dom ʔliy:ɛ] 'he fell upon me'.

Therefore pharyngalisation here is a suprasegmental feature. The stylistic context where it most often appears is the dramatising speech especially typical of female speakers³. Thus, the most usual pronunciation of the above-mentioned instance by men is [zɒm ɐliɣ:ɛ].

Palatal consonants

/ʒ/ - /ʃ/

/ʒi:b/ : bring (imp.)

/ʃi:b/ : old age

/ʒ/ - /x/

/ʒa:ɣib/ : bringing

/xa:ɣib/ : dishonest

/ʒ/ - /ʁ/

/ʒa:b/ : he brought

/ʁa:b/ : he was absent

/ʒ/ - /ʕ/

/ʒna/ : he harvested

/ʕna/ : he cared

/ʒ/ - /h/

/ʒan:a/ : paradise

/han:a/ : he congratulated

/ʒ/ - /ħ/

/ʒaħwa/ : the bride's dance

/ħaħwa/ : (a special kind of) sweet pastry

/ʒ/ - /m/

/ʒar:a/ : big jar

/mar:a/ : once

/ʒ/ - /n/

/ʒa:r/ : neighbour

/na:r/ : fire

³ SAADA in, *Le langage de femmes tunisiennes*, noticed that women in Tunisia use emphatic consonants less frequently than men. This is however not the case in the dialect of Sūsa, where e.g. the contrast between [t̤a:q] 'floor' and [t̤ɛ:q] 'he held out' is fully rooted among all speakers.

/ʃ/ - /x/
 /ʃi:ba/ : an impudent old man
 /xi:ba/ : failure
 /ʃ/ - /ʎ/
 /ʃa:b/ : he became old
 /ʎa:b/ : he was absent
 /ʃ/ - /ʀ/
 /ʃa:yib/ : old man
 /ʀa:yib/ : lame
 /ʃ/ - /h/
 /ʃla:l/ : diarrhea
 /hla:l/ : half-moon
 /ʃ/ - /h̥/
 /ʃfa:ya/ : my recovery
 /h̥fa:ya/ : barefoot (pl.)
 /ʃ/ - /m/
 /ʃra/ : he bought
 /mra/ : woman
 /ʃ/ - /n/
 /ʃa:b/ : he became old
 /na:b/ : incisor

Uvular consonants

/x/ - /ʎ/
 /xαʃ:/ : he came in
 /ʎαʃ:/ : he cheated
 /x/ - /ʀ/
 /xα:l/ : maternal uncle
 /ʀα:l/ : excellent
 /x/ - /h/
 /xα:yin/ : betrayer, traitor
 /hα:yin/ : insignificant
 /x/ - /h̥/
 /xα:yif/ : scared
 /h̥α:yif/ : thief
 /x/ - /m/
 /xα:l/ : vinegar
 /ma:l/ : he became bored

/x/ - /n/

/xas:/ : it lacked

/nas:/ : type

/ɣ/ - /r/

/ɣa:li/ : dear

/ra:li/ : high

/ɣ/ - /h/

/ɣna/ : songs

/ma/ : here

/ɣ/ - /h/

/ɣan:a/ : he sang

/han:a/ : grandmother

/ɣ/ - /m/

/ɣal:a/ : fruit

/mal:a/ : boredom

/ɣ/ - /n/

/ɣa:r/ : he got jealous

/na:r/ : fire

Pharyngeal consonants

/r/ - /h/

/rik/ : he got fast

/hlik/ : he destroyed

/r/ - /h/

/ril:a/ : illness

/hil:a/ : chaos

/r/ - /m/

/ril:a/ : illness

/mil:a/ : race

/r/ - /n/

/ra:r/ : shame

/na:r/ : fire

/h/ - /h/

/hla:l/ : permissible (and good)

/hla:l/ : half-moon

/h/ - /m/

/ha:li/ : my state

/ma:li/ : my money

/h̥/ - /n/

/h̥sarni/ : he got me (in a corner)

/nsarni/ : he rendered me victorious

Laryngeal consonants

/h/ - /m/

/ha:yi/ : wonderful

/ma:yi/ : inclined

/h/ - /n/

/hafhaf/ : he became scared

/nafnaf/ : he sniffed

/h/ - /r/

/hu:ma/ : they

/ru:ma/ : Rome

/h/ - /l/

/haz:/ : he took up

/laz:/ : he drove (someone) to do something

/h/ - /w/

/hiz:ha/ : take her up (imp.)

/wiz:ha/ : her geese

/h/ - /y/

/ra:h/ : he saw him

/ra:y/ : view

Nasals

Labial consonants

/m/ - /b/

/mɫa/ : he filled

/bɫa/ : troublesome

/m/ - /t/

/marfa/ : shelf

/tarfa/ : you lift up

/m/ - /d/

/maɫ:/ : he became bored

/daɫ:/ : he showed the way

/m/ - /t̪/

/mra/ : woman

/t̪ra/ : it became soft

/m/ - /k/	
/mra/	: woman
/kra/	: rent
/m/ - /q/	
/mla:t/	: she filled
/qla:t/	: she fried
/m/ - /r/	
/ma:ʒil/	: well, cistern
/ra:ʒil/	: man
/m/ - /l/	
/ma:l:a/	: boredom
/la:l:a/	: my older sister, (can also be used in addressing a lady)
/m/ - /w/	
/mar:a/	: once
/war:a/	: he showed
/m/ - /y/	
/madfa ^o /	: cannon
/yadfa ^o /	: he pays

There is also an emphatic [ŋ] but it can most properly be regarded as an allophone of /m/ in spite of the following opposition:

[ɛmɛ:n] : peace, safety

[aŋa:n] : indeed! (interjection of astonishment)

Pharyngalisation is used here in order to produce a minimal allophonic contrast between the two homonyms. Normally the shift from [ŋ] to [m] does not influence the meaning of the word.

Dental consonants

/n/ - /b/	
/nra/	: I see
/bra/	: he recovered
/n/ - /t/	
/nirkib/	: I ride
/tirkib/	: you ride
/n/ - /d/	
/na:yim/	: asleep
/da:yim/	: eternal
/n/ - /ʔ/	
/na:yib/	: merciful (referring to God)
/ʔa:yib/	: ripe

/n/ - /k/
 /nfa/ : he denied
 /kfa/ : it was enough
 /n/ - /q/
 /na:m/ : he slept
 /ɕa:m/ : he woke up
 /n/ - /r/
 /na:fi^o/ : useful
 /ra:fi^o/ : lifting up
 /n/ - /l/
 /na:yi^h/ : crying, wailing
 /la:yi^h/ : obvious
 /n/ - /w/
 /nra:k/ : I see you
 /wra:k/ : behind you
 /n/ - /y/
 /ni^hlib/ : I milk
 /yi^hlib/ : he milks

Vibrants

Dental consonants

/r/ - /l/
 /rab:i/ : my God
 /lab:i/ : say yes (imp.)
 /r/ - /w/
 /ra:ɾi/ : shepherd
 /wa:ɾi/ : conscious
 /r/ - /y/
 /ru:m/ : rum
 /yu:m/ : day

There is an emphatic [r̥] but it is not a proper phoneme in spite of the following opposition:

[ħɾa:m] : evil
 [ħr̥ɛ:m] : veil

The opposition occurs in one single position and forms only one minimal pair. In many idiolects, the opposition is missing, and [ħɾa:m] denotes both 'evil' and 'veil'.

Laterals

Dental consonants

/l/ - /w/

/wa:qif/ : standing up

/la:qif/ : snatching

/l/ - /y/

/la:bis/ : wearing

/ya:bis/ : hard, dry

Semi-vowels

/w/ - /y/

/waqra/ : pimple

/yaqra/ : he reads

/y/ - /w/

See /w/ above.

1.1.3 Conclusion

According to the phoneme identification the dialect of the Medina of Sūsa has the following consonant phonemes:

Front consonants

Labials:	b m w
Labiodental:	f
Interdentals:	θ ð ʔ ⁴
Dentals:	t d s ʒ z n l
Alveolars:	ʈ ʣ r
Palatals:	y ʃ

Back consonants

Velars:	k g
Uvulars:	q x ʁ
Pharyngals:	ʕ ɦ
Laryngal:	h

⁴ The interdentals disappeared in most sedentary dialects but occur in the Sāhil dialects and in the vernacular of Tunis, see CANTINEAU, Cours de phonétique arabe, p. 44.

Thus, the number of consonant phonemes in the dialect of Sūsa is 27, viz. one less than in Classical Arabic. The older inventory of consonant phonemes - such as reflected, for instance, by Classical Arabic - has been reduced by two: the older /ʔ/ has disappeared, and the two older phonemes represented by the graphemes ṣdṣ and ṣzṣ have merged into /ḏ/. On the other hand, the inventory of consonant phonemes has been increased by /g/. The lateralized allophone [ḏ^l] occurring quite often among men in the older generation may be compared with the Classical prepalatal lateralized fricative /d/.⁵ The most usual allophone of /ʒ/ in the dialect of Sūsa is an alveopalatal fricative and corresponds to the Classical prepalatal /dʒ/.

The inventory might be increased by further consonant phonemes, but these are, in my opinion, not pertinent to the phonemic system of the dialect. In theory, any consonant contrasting with another in at least one minimal pair could be defined as an independent phoneme, but this solution seems to me unsatisfactory. As far as the concept of the phoneme has been introduced to describe the phonemic structure of a language or a dialect, it also should be defined in terms of pertinence.⁶ The question whether or not to include a consonant among the independent phonemes should not be solved irrespective of the frequency of its occurrence. Thus, e.g. any emphatic sound should contrast minimally with its non-emphatic counterpart in more than two pairs of lexical items in order to be considered as phonemically distinctive. An emphatic can appropriately be called primary when it is considered as sufficiently distinctive whereas the emphatics having a very low statistical rate of occurrence and maximally forming two minimal pairs can be called secondary. The emphasis in [ḃ], [ḡ] and [ḥ] can most properly be regarded as secondary since it depends on the characteristic properties in the acoustic effect of the vowels. The acoustic and articulatory properties of the vowels affect the quality of the adjoining consonants. The pharyngalisation of [ḃ] in [lḃa:ba] is likely to be due to the strange behaviour of the [a] allophone of /a/. Thus emphasis is the only feature which distinguishes /ṣ/, /ḏ/ and /ṭ/ from /s/, /ð/ and /t/ respectively. The secondary emphatics [ḡ], [ḃ] and [ḥ] differ from the emphatics /ṣ/, /ḏ/ and /ṭ/ in distribution. The primary emphatics occur freely in all positions and with all vowels while the secondary emphatics (in lexical items without /ṣ/, /ḏ/ and /ṭ/) are combinatorily limited and occur only with [a].

⁵ Cf, CANTINEAU, Cours de phonétique arabe, p. 55.

⁶ The same solution was adopted by PALVA, Lower Galilean Arabic, p. 11.

/ʒ/	
/ʒa:m/	: he fasted
/ʒu:f/	: wool
/ʒi:f/	: summer
/qʒar/	: castle
/qʒu:r/	: castles
/bʒi:r/	: blind
/mqʒ:/	: scissors
/muʒ:/	: suck (imp.)
/qiʒ:/	: tell (imp.)

/ʒ/	
/ʒa:ʔ/	: he got lost
/ʒum:/	: close (imp.)
/ʒi:f/	: guest
/mʒay:aʔ/	: losing, fool
/marʒ/	: disease

/t/	
/ta:h/	: he fell down
/tub:/	: medicine
/ti:h/	: fall down (imp.)
/mtar/	: rain
/ʃat:/	: beach

/b/	
/ba:ʃ/	: material used as a shelter ~ shall
/lba:ba/	: soft inside of bread ~ to my father

/m/	
/ama:n/	: peace, safety ~ indeed

/r/	
/hra:m/	: evil ~ veil

Among the various alternative analyses of emphasis⁷, the author, due to the above-mentioned reasons, prefers the analysis rejecting the secondary emphatics as proper phonemes.

⁷ For a brief summary and fair exposition of most of the existing analyses of emphasis, see LEHN, *Emphasis in Cairo Arabic*, and MAAMOURI, *Phonology of Tunisian Arabic*, pp. 41-43.

Figure 2: The consonant phonemes in the dialect of Sūsa

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Stops	voiced...	b			d			g			
	voiceless				t	ʈ		k	q		
Fricatives	voiced...			ð ʁ	z		ʃ		ʕ	ʕ	
	voiceless		f	θ	s ʒ		ʃ		x	ħ	h
Nasals.....		m			n						
Lateral.....					l						
Trill.....						r					
Semi-vowels.....		w					y				

Figure 3: The consonant phonemes of Classical Arabic⁸

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Dental	Prepalatal	Postpalatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Stops	voiced...	b			d (d̥)	d̥					
	voiceless				t ʈ		k	q			ʔ
Fricatives	voiced...			ð ʁ	z	dʒ		ʕ		ʕ	
	voiceless		f	θ	s ʒ	ʃ		x		ħ	h
Nasals.....		m			n						
Lateral.....						l					
Trill.....						r					
Semi-vowels.....		w				y					

⁸ This table is made in accordance with CANTINEAU's description in his Cours de phonétique arabe, pp. 19-88. The author has taken the liberty of changing the transcription used by CANTINEAU.

1.2 PROSODY

The prosodic features include duration, stress, intonation and emphasis. In the dialect of Sūsa and Arabic in general, duration is the most important from the phonological point of view.

1.2.1 Duration

There are two distinctive quantities: short and long. Both can occur freely, and independently of each other in any consonant and vowel sequence in a word.

VC.CVC	[ɛrnɛb]	: rabbit
CV:C	[qɑ:l]	: he said
CVC:	[mɛl:]	: he became bored
CV:C:	[qɑ:ɜ:]	: cutting

1.2.2 Stress

There are two distinguishable degrees of stress: primary and secondary. Each word has a so-called stressable syllable which receives the primary stress. The location of stress is affected by the number and the type of the syllables in the word. A monosyllabic word receives primary stress. Dissyllabic and polysyllabic words get both primary and secondary stress. The following rules explain the application of stress in the dialect of Sūsa.

1.2.2.1

If a word is made up of a string of syllables with a short vowel, i.e. V, CV, CVC, CCV, CCVC, CVCC, CCVCC, CCCVC or CCCVCC, the first syllable receives the primary (ˈ) and the second the secondary stress (ˌ).

C̀V.CĆV	[h̥āmɾá]	: red (fem.)
C̀V.CĆV	[yɪnbít]	: it grows
C̀V.CĆV	[yðqɾós]	: he is pinching
.CC̀V.CĆV	[t̪l̥ābnɛ]	: he asked us
C̀V.CĆV	[qðmbɪɛ]	: a bomb
CC̀V.CĆV.CVC	[kt̪ibətlik]	: I wrote to you
C̀VCC.ĆV	[m̥ār:t̪ó]	: his turn
C̀V.CĆV.CVC.CV	[gɛn:ɛrt̪iy:a]	: artichoke
VC.VC.CVC	[ɛrɛnbik]	: your rabbit
CC̀VCC.ĆV	[sth̥ɑq:t̪í]	: he needed me
CC̀VCC.ĆV	[st̪qɑ:l:ð]	: they became independent

1.2.2.2

If a word comprises only one syllable with long vowel this receives primary stress if it is not the last syllable in the word. The remaining syllables are unmarked.

CV̇:.CVC	[ʔā:lim]	: scholar
CĈV̇:.CV	[ʔmā:ra]	: battery
CCV̇:.CCV̇:.CV	[ktibnĕ:lu]	: we wrote to him
CV̇:.CVC.CVC	[lī:lɪtkum]	: your night

1.2.2.3

If a word contains two syllables or more with a long vowel, the first gets primary stress. The other syllables remain unmarked.

CCV̇:.CV:.CV	[sqō:fɛ:tu]	: his ceilings
CCV̇:.CV:.CCVC	[ʃrā:wu:lɪkum]	: They bought to you
CCV̇:.CV:.CV	[klī:bɛ:tu]	: his dogs (dim.)

1.2.2.4

A syllable with the epenthetic vowel [ə] never receives primary stress.

Cə.CĊVC	[ləxt̪ār]	: the danger
Cə.CĊVC	[ləqfil]	: the lock

1.2.3 Intonation

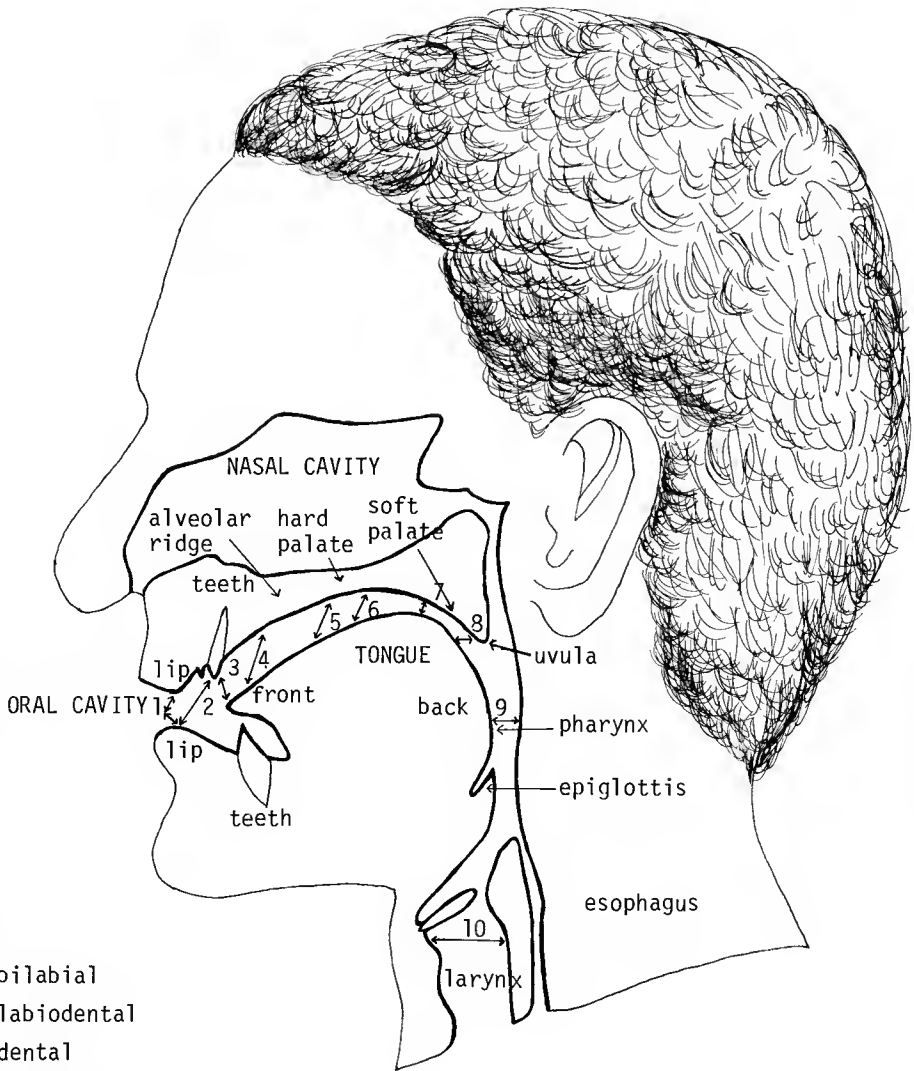
Intonation is suprasegmental and pertains to the sentence. Intonation in the dialect of Sūsa is monotonous and has no syntactic function. Questions are marked by a rising terminal contour. A non-emphatic and a non-emotional sentence is pronounced with a falling terminal contour.

1.2.4 Emphasis

Emphasis is a syllabic component which is assigned to the syllable as its structural domain. It is considered as a suprasegmental phoneme and is usually used when dramatising.⁹

⁹ See p. 32 above.

Figure 4: The vocal tract



- 1 bilabial
- 2 labiodental
- 3 dental
- 4 alveolar
- 5 palatoalveolar
- 6 palatal
- 7 velar
- 8 uvular
- 9 pharyngeal
- 10 laryngeal

1.3 MANNERS OF ARTICULATIONS

1.3.1 The consonants

1.3.1.1 The stops

The stops are produced by a complete closure at a point of articulation, the airstream continues and the pressure in the roped-off area increases. When the blocking suddenly ceases, the air rushes out and the sound is formed.

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop and is pronounced by a closure of the two lips and the release of a slight rush of air that has built up with the closure. The sound is produced with simultaneous vibration of the vocal cords.

/t/ is a voiceless dental stop. It is produced through the blocking of the airstream by replacing the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth and the release of the air.

/t̤/ is a voiceless emphatic alveolar stop. It is produced through the blocking of the airstream by the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge and the release of the air. Emphasis is a secondary articulation and is produced by constriction in the pharynx.¹⁰ The phonetic difference between emphatic and non-emphatic consonants had been treated since the seventh century by Arab grammarians.¹¹

/d/ is a voiced dental stop and it has the same point of articulation as /t/.
/d/ is produced with vibration of the vocal cords.

/k/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop. It is produced through the blocking of the airstream by the back of the dorsum of the tongue against the soft palate. The aspiration - an h-sound - is formed when the air continues rushing through the open vocal tract. A palatal allophone [kʲ] occurs before [i]. The blocking is formed by the blade of the tongue against the hard palate.

¹⁰ HOCKETT identifies emphasis primarily with pharyngalisation, see A Manual of Phonology, p. 29.

¹¹ Early Arab grammarians identified emphasis as /iṭba:q/ 'spreading and raising of the tongue' but also as /istiʿla:ʔ/ 'elevation of the dorsum' and /tafʁi:m/ 'dignifying' or 'thickness'. For an excellent account of the works of the old Arab phoneticians, see VOLLERS, The system of Arabic Sounds, as based upon Sibawaih and Ibn-Yaʿish in Transactions, and CANTINEAU, Cours de phonétique arabe.

/g/ is a voiced velar stop. The sound has the same point of articulation as /k/. /g/ is produced with the vibration of the vocal cords.

/q/ is a voiceless uvular stop. It is produced with the blocking of the airstream by contact between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. A certain constriction in the pharynx occurs when producing /q/. The constriction is due to the back point of articulation of the sound. /q/ has the same acoustic effect on the surrounding vowels as the emphatic consonants.

1.3.1.2 The fricatives

Fricatives are produced by friction caused by the air moving through a sustained narrow passage somewhere in the vocal tract.

/f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative. It is produced through a constriction of the airstream formed by the bottom of the lip against the upper front teeth. The position of the tongue varies with the surrounding sounds in the speech chain.

/θ/ is a voiceless interdental fricative. /θ/ is as /ð/ and /ʃ/ a lisp consonant. /θ/ is produced by the narrowing of the passage of the airstream when placing the tip of the tongue between the teeth.

/ð/ is a voiced interdental fricative. It has the same point of articulation as /θ/. The sound is produced with the vibration of the vocal cords.

/ʒ/ is a voiced emphatic interdental fricative. It has as the other emphatic consonants two constrictions. /ʒ/ has an interdental and a pharyngeal one. The lateralisation of /ʒ/ is quite usual among men in the older generation. Lateralisation is produced by a complete closure in the front of the oral cavity, but incomplete closure at both sides of the tongue, to permit the escape of the air.

/s/ is a voiceless postdental fricative. /s/ is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the upper gum ridges.

/ʁ/ is a voiceless emphatic postdental fricative. /ʁ/ has the same point of articulation as /s/. Emphasis distinguishes between the two consonants. The constriction in the pharynx increases the pressure and the airstream rushes out through the narrow opening when the sound is pronounced.

/z/ is a voiced postdental fricative. It has the same point of articulation as /s/. The sound is produced with the vibration of the vocal cords.

/ʒ/ is a palatoalveolar voiced fricative. The sound is produced through a constriction by the front part of the dorsum of the tongue against the rear half of the palate.

/ʃ/ is a voiceless front palatal fricative. It is formed through a constriction by the front part of the dorsum of the tongue against the hard palate. The tip of the tongue is low and the front part of the tongue is high when pronouncing the sound.

/x/ is a voiceless uvular fricative. The sound is produced by contact between the back of the tongue and the uvula.

/ʁ/ is a voiced uvular fricative. It has the same point of articulation as /x/. The sound is produced by vibration of the vocal cords.

/ʕ/ is a voiced pharyngeal fricative.¹² The sound has two constrictions: one in the vocal cords and an other in the pharynx. Both constrictions are as important for the articulation of the sound.

/ħ/ is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative produced by narrowing the vocal cords with constriction in the pharynx.

/h/ is a voiceless laryngeal fricative. The sound is produced in the larynx by narrowing the vocal cords.

1.3.1.3 The nasals

/m/ and /n/ are produced with nose passage open by reason of the lowered velum, and mouth passage occluded by the lips for /m/, and by the tip of the tongue for /n/.

/m/ is a bilabial nasal produced by the occlusion of the oral cavity with the lips.

¹² According to AL-ANI the most usual allophone of /ʕ/ in contemporary Arabic as used in Iraq is a voiceless stop and not a voiced fricative. See, AL-ANI, Arabic Phonology, p.62.

/n/ is a postdental nasal. It is produced by the occlusion of the oral cavity with the tip of the tongue against the upper gum ridges.

1.3.1.4 The vibrant

/r/ is an alveolar trill. The sound is produced by a vibration of the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge. Some informants in the younger generation have a retroflex [ɽ] which is produced with the tongue tip curled up so that it touches the alveolar ridge.

1.3.1.5 The lateral

/l/ is a dental lateral. It is produced with a complete closure in the front of the oral cavity and an incomplete one at both sides of the tongue. The blocking is formed by placing the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth.

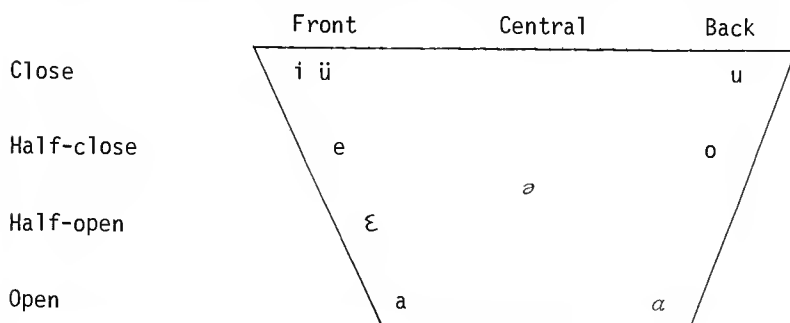
1.3.2 The semi-vowels

A semi-vowel is a sound intermediate between a consonant and a vowel. The semi-vowels are pronounced when the airstream rushed freely through the pharynx and the oral cavity. The articulation is not sustained and is characterized by constant transition.

1.3.3 The vowels

The vowels are produced with air flow moving centrally and orally, forward through the mouth, and into the open air. The sound is produced with vibration of the vocal cords. The passage of air through the oral cavity is unobstructed. The buccal cavity forms a filtering cavity of which the effect is affected by three factors: tongue height, tongue advancement, and lip position.

Figure 5: The vowel allophones arranged in a vowel trapezoid



1.3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion we can say that there are no big differences in the manners of articulation between the dialect of Sūsa and the local standard Arabic. The informants use the same allophonic variations as in the vernacular, but the Classical /dʒ/ is merged into the alveopalatal fricative /ʒ/ in all positions. However many speakers of the older generation use /dʒ/ when reading the Koran.

1.4 PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

The most usual phonological changes are combinatory. This kind of change is predictable in terms of other sounds in the environment. Some changes occur only in a particular environment and under fixed conditions. The most frequent combinatory phonological change in the Arabic dialects is assimilation which is a phonetic process whereby two phonemes become identical. The most usual type of assimilation is regressive i.e. when two phonemes follow each other, the first is assimilated to the second. Internal assimilation occurs within the segment while external occurs when two segments, which are usually divided by a plus juncture in careful speech are brought in rapid speech into close transition.

1.4.1 The consonants

1.4.1.1 Labial consonants¹³

/b/ and /m/ become emphatic if they are immediately followed or preceded by [a:], an emphatic consonant, [r], [x], [q] or [ʕ].

/baːʃ/	→ [baːʃ]	: material used as a shelter
/bgaːl/	→ [bgaːl]	: onion
/ðbaʕ/	→ [ðbaʕ]	: stupid
/arbʕa/	→ [arbʕa]	: four
/xbar/	→ [xbar]	: news
/qbar/	→ [qbar]	: grave
/ʃaʕbu/	→ [ʃaʕbu]	: he disturbed him
/maːgː/	→ [maːgː]	: sucking
/mðaːlːa/	→ [mðaːlːa]	: hat
/mgaːrɪn/	→ [mgaːrɪn]	: bowels
/mra/	→ [mra]	: woman
/maqt/	→ [maqt]	: persecution
/xmɪr/	→ [xmɪr]	: it fermented
/ʕmaːq/	→ [ʕmaːq]	: it got darker

fC → vC when C is voiced.

/fdaːni/	→ [vdaːni]	: he sacrificed his life for me
/fzaʕ/	→ [vzaʕ]	: he rushed

¹³ /w/ see p. 55 below.

bC → pC when C is voiceless.

/bsir/	→ [psir]	: green dates
/bka/	→ [pkɛ]	: he cried
/bxu:r/	→ [pxo:r]	: incense
bn	→ mn	

careful speech

/nħib nimʃi/	: I want to go
/qalb nsɛ/	: a womans heart

rapid speech

[nħümnimʃi]
[qalmnsɛ]

1.4.1.2 Interdental consonants

fð → vd

/nifðu/	→ [nivdu]	: they got realized
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θð ð:

careful speech

/wriθ ðil:ithɛ/	: he inherited her shame
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rapid speech

[urið:il:ithɛ]

θð → ð:

/wriθ ðna:ya/	: he inherited my child	[urið:na:yɛ]
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ðθ → θ (sic!)

/marð θahlu:l/	: skin disease	[marθɛhlu:l]
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1.4.1.3 Dental and alveolar consonants

qt → qṭ

/waqt/	→ [wɔqṭ]	: time
/maqt/	→ [mɔqṭ]	: persecution

tʒ → dʒ

/tʒi/	→ [dʒi]	: you'll come
/tʒaʔʒa/	→ [dʒaʔʒaʔ]	: you are talking drive

ndn → n:

/ʕandna/	→ [ʕan:ɛ]	: in our possession
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td → d:

careful speech

/bint dahriy:a/	: Dahria's daughter
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rapid speech

[bind:ahriy:a]

dt → t:

/mid tra:bik/	: take out your sand (imp.)	[mit:ɾa:bik]
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dtṭ → tṭ:

/ʃid tṭri:qik/	: queue up (imp.)	[ʃitṭ:ɾü:qük]
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sd → zd

/sdir/	→ [zdir:]	: semolina
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a:s	→ a:ʒ	
/qa:s/	→ [qa:ʒ]	: he measured
ʒd	→ ʒd̥	
/qiʒd̥i:r/	→ [qiʒd̥ü:r]	: tin
ʒʕ	→ ʒʕ	
/sʕi:r/	→ [ʒʕü:r]	: little
zt	→ st	
/lu:stu/	→ [lu:stu]	: his almond-tree
/z/ is realised as [ʒ] in the contiguity of [a], [ʕ], [h], [q], [r] or [ʕ].		
/qazma/	→ [qazma]	: pygmy (fem.)
/zaʕra/	→ [ʒaʕra]	: blonde
/zraʕ/	→ [ʒraʕ:]	: he planted
/zha:q/	→ [ʒha:q]	: ashes
/zqa:q/	→ [ʒqa:q]	: a narrow street
/zʕur/	→ [ʒʕor:]	: blond (adj. pl.)
/zaʕba/	→ [ʒaʕbɛ]	: a very fine hair

sz → z:

Careful speech

/kbis zbi:dɛ/ : he frightened Zbida [kbiz:bi:dɛ]

nb → mb

/timbri/ → [timbri] : a stamp

nq → ŋq

/yunaqʒ/ → [yunaqʒ] : it is lacking

ng → ŋg

/yungru/ → [yungru] : they are pecking

nr → ɲ:

Careful speech

/wi:n ra:h/ : where did he see [wiɲ:a:h]

nb → mb

/min bari:z/ : from Paris [mimbɛri:z]

nm → ɲ:

/min ma:ʔir/ : from Mateur [min:a:ʔür]

The /l/ of the definite article {el} assimilates to the interdental, dental, alveolar or palatal consonants (except y).¹⁴

/el θla:θa/ → [iθ:lɛ:θɛ] : the three (of a quantity)

/el ʔi:b/ → [iʔ:i:b] : the wolf

/el ʔi:f/ → [əʔ:ü:f] : the guest

¹⁴ This phonological change may most properly be regarded as synchronic since it also occurs in borrowings from Standard Arabic as in /id:fa:tir/ 'the registers'.

/el tɛ:bir/	→ [it:nɛ:bir]	: the stamps
/el t̥la:q/	→ [ə̞t̥:̞a:q]	: the divorce
/el dhi:na/	→ [id:hi:nə]	: the painting
/el sla:sil/	→ [is:lɛ:sil]	: the chains
/el ɣya:m/	→ [ə̞ɣ:ɣɛ:m]	: the act of fasting
/el ʒri:ba/	→ [iz:ri:bɛ]	: the stable
/el na:r/	→ [i̞n̥:a:ɾ]	: the fire
/el ʒna:n/	→ [i̞z:nɛ:n]	: the garden
/el ri:q/	→ [ə̞ɾ:ü:q]	: the irony
/el ʃaq:/	→ [ə̞ʃ:aq:]	: the narrow opening

/l/ becomes emphatic if it is preceded or followed by [a], the emphatic or uvular consonants.

/lah:/	→ [lah:]	: he insisted
/sla:t̥a/	→ [s̞la:t̥a]	: salad
/t̥lab/	→ [t̞lab]	: he asked
/s̞li:b/	→ [s̞li:b]	: cross
/ʔlamni/	→ [ʔlamni]	: he was unfair to me
/ʔlat:/	→ [ʔlat:]	: mistakes

/r/ is realized as [ɾ] in the contiguity of the emphatic and uvular consonants or in emphasized syllables.

/r̞sa:ɣ/	→ [r̞sa:ɣ]	: lead
/t̥ri:q/	→ [t̞ri:q]	: road
/r̞ʔa/	→ [r̞ʔa]	: he got satisfied
/qra/	→ [qra]	: he read
/xraʒ/	→ [xraʒ]	: he went out
/r̞yib/	→ [r̞yib]	: he hurried
/ra:yib/	→ [ra:yib]	: processed sour milk

1.4.1.4 Palatal consonants

/ʒ/ undergoes very few modifications in the dialect of Sūsa.

ʒ...ʒ → ʒ...ʒ

/ʒaʒ:a:r/	→ [ʒaʒ:a:ɾ]	: butcher
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/ʃ/ becomes emphatic in the contiguity of the emphatic consonants, /r/, [a] or the uvular consonants.

/ʃtar/	→ [ʃtar]	: half
/ʃarʃu:r/	→ [ʃarʃo:ɾ]	: gravel
/ʃra:b/	→ [ʃra:b]	: wine
/ʃxir/	→ [ʃxir:]	: he snored
/ʃqa:la/	→ [ʃqa:la]	: a deep plate
/ʃyilni/	→ [ʃyilni]	: he disturbed me

/y/ see p. below.

1.4.1.5 Velar and uvular consonants

/k/, /q/ and /g/ do not undergo any internal phonological change. In the genuine dialect of the older generation of Sūsa /g/ does not alternate stylistically with /q/.

kʏ → gʏ

careful speech

/kalbik ʏa:di/

: your dog is there [kɛlbɪgʏa:di]

rapid speech

kʒ → gʒ

/kta:bik ʒu:hri/

: your book is blue [ktɛ:bigʒu:hri]

kz → gz

/elma:lik za:z/

: the fiancé came in [ilmɛ:ligzɛ:z]

gt → kt

/mar:ig tna:bru/

: he sold his stamps [mɛr:iktɲɛ:bru]

gk → k:

/mar:ig kalbi/

: he fooled my dog [mɛr:ik:ɛlbi]

gq → kq

/dagdig qalmi/

: he destroyed my
pen [dɛgdikqalmi]

ʏC → xC when C is voiceless.

/ʏsil/

→ [xsil:]

: he washed

/ʏfil/

→ [xfil:]

: he was distraught

/ʏ ʃɛ:ʃ ʔir/

→ [xʃɛ:ʃir]

: children

xz → ʏz

careful speech

/ʃa:x za:da/

: he enjoyed himself
also [ʃɛ:ʏzɛ:dɛ]

rapid speech

xʒ → ʏʒ

/ʔab:a:x ʒra/

: a cook ran [ʔabɛ:ʏʒrɛ]

xʏ ʏ:

/ʃa:x ʏa:di/

: he enjoyed him-
self there [ʃɛ:ʏa:di]

ʏt → xt

/far:ʔ tna:bru/

: he emptied his
stamps [fɛr:ixtɲɛ:bru]

ʏk → xk

/dayday kalbna/

: he tickled our
dog [dɛʏdɛxkɛlbnɛ]

ʏx → x:

/dma:ʏ xa:lti/

: my aunt's head [dmɛ:x:a:lti]

1.4.1.6 Pharyngeal and laryngeal consonants

ħh → ħ:		
/rāb: aħħā/	→ [rāb: aħ: a]	: he made her win
ʕh → h:		
/zraʕha/	→ [zrah: a]	: he planted it (fem.)

1.4.2 The semi-vowels

Initially [w] is in free variation with /u/ when immediately followed by a consonant whereas /y/ in the same position is most often realized as /i/.

[wqūf]	~	[uqūf]	: he stood up
[wriθ]	~	[uriθ]	: he inherited
[ybiʃ]	~	[ibiʃ]	: it hardened
[ylim:]	~	[ilim:]	: he collects

Medially the older /aw/ and /ay/¹⁵ have usually been monophthongized into /u:/ and /i:/ respectively.

/ʕawda/	>	[ʕo: dɛ]	: return
/naʕba/	>	[nu: bɛ]	: crisis
/ħayra/	>	[ħü: ɾa]	: doubt
/kayla/	>	[ki: lɛ]	: measure

The diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/¹⁶ can occur in some borrowings from Standard Arabic and in middle-weak verbs in Form II and V.

[dɛw lɛ]	: state
[rawʕa]	: nursery school
[raw: aħ]	: he went home
[tmɛy: ɛ l]	: he had been inclined

Finally /w/ and /y/ form diphthongs when preceded by /a/ or /a:/. If the preceding vowel is short the semi-vowels are doubled.

[ɔ̃aw:]	: light
[ɔ̃ɛy:]	: something
[na:y]	: flute
[mɔ̃ɛ:w]	: they went

¹⁵ For a deeper study of the diphthongs in Syrian Arabic, see PALVA, On the diphthongs aw and ay in Syrian Arabic.

¹⁶ In the dialects of Nabeul and Sfax the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ are in partial free variation with the vowels /u:/ and /i:/, see MAAMOURI, The Phonology of Tunisian Arabic, p. 88.

Initially /w/ and /y/ form also diphthongs when preceded by /a/ and occur in relative adjectives.

[awsɛr]	: wider
[ɛybis]	: harder

In the dialect of Sūsa the occurrence of the diphthongs is as usual among men as among women.¹⁷

1.4.3 The vowels

1.4.3.1 The phoneme /a/

The allophone of /a/ is [ɛ] if the preceding consonant is a front consonant and non-emphatic. [r] is the only non-emphatic front consonant which is followed by [a]. Among the back consonants, [k], [g] and [h] are also followed by [ɛ].

[rbɛ]	: he wasted
[rmɛ]	: he threw
[fɛl:ɛ]	: jasmine
[θnɛ]	: he bent
[zɛl:ɛ]	: mistake
[bkɛ]	: he cried
[gɛ:di]	: fix it (imp.)
[nhɛ:ni]	: he advised me not to
[ʒɛb:]	: he jumped
[lɛm:]	: he collected
[wkɛ:lɛ]	: a primitive resthouse
[mɛlɛk]	: king

/a/ is realized as [a]¹⁸ if it is preceded by an emphatic consonant, by [x], [ħ] or [ʕ].

[rħa]	: he became satisfied
[bħa]	: onion
[ħtar:]	: half
[ħa:ħ]	: head
[xa:ħ]	: uncle (mother's side)
[ħarħ]	: war
[raħk]	: quarrel

¹⁷ The author did not find in the dialect of Sūsa any tendency among men to avoid the diphthongs while such a tendency was noticed in the dialect of Nabeul by MAAMOURI, *The Phonology of Tunisian Arabic*, p. 88.

¹⁸ /a/ is most often realized as [a] when following /r/.

/a/ becomes [a] if it is preceded by [q] or [ʎ]. The allophone of /a/ is also [a] if the preceding consonant may occur with [a] and is immediately followed by [q] or [ʎ].

[qaɣ:]	: he cut
[qa:l]	: he said
[ʎan:ɛ]	: he sang
[ʎa:li]	: expensive
[hʌq:]	: right
[ɾa:ʎub]	: willing
[ʂaq:fu]	: they applauded

/a/ is realized as [e] when occurring in imperf. 2. p. sing. of Form I and followed by a front non-emphatic consonant, [g], [k] or [n]. However, the majority of the speakers replace [e] with [i].

[terkib]	→ [tirkib]	: you are riding
[tenhi]	→ [tinhi]	: you advise (someone) not to
[tegðib]	→ [tigðib]	: you are lying

1.4.3.2 The phoneme /u/

The allophone of /u/ is [u] if the preceding consonant is a front consonant and non-emphatic. Among front consonants only /r/ is followed by [o], whereas the back consonants, [k], [g] and [h] are followed by [u].

[bu]	: father
[mu:t]	: death
[fum:]	: mouth
[θu:m]	: garlic
[ðu:b]	: melt (imp.)
[dug:]	: stick (imp.)
[martu]	: his wife
[zu:r]	: visit (imp.)
[mɛs:u]	: he touched him
[nu:b]	: represent (imp.)
[lu:m]	: reproach
[lyu:m]	: today
[mɛr:gu]	: he fooled him
[huw:ɛ]	: he
[kul:]	: every

/u/ is realized as [o] if it is preceded by an emphatic consonant or by [r], [x], [ʎ], [q], [h] and [r].

[tɔb:a]	: physicians
[ðoqt]	: I tasted

[ʃob:a]	: soup
[roqt]	: I enjoyed living
[hob:]	: love
[qob:a]	: dome
[ixox:]	: he says nonsense
[ʎo:s]	: dive (imp.)
[ronf]	: violence

1.4.3.3 The phoneme /i/

The allophone of /i/ is [i] if the preceding consonant is a front consonant and non-emphatic. Only [r] is a front consonant and is followed by [ü].

Among the back consonants, [k], [g] and [h] are also followed by [i].

[bi:k]	: with you
[ʃi:b]	: wolf
[nif:]	: take snuff (imp.)
[lif:]	: hurry up (imp.)
[skit:]	: he became silent
[yiktib]	: he writes
[gid:]	: make it good (imp.)
[hik:ɛ]	: like this

/i/ is realized as [ü] if it is preceded by an emphatic consonant or by [r], [x], [ʎ], [q], [h] and [ʀ].

[t̤ü:b]	: perfume
[qɑf̣ṣü]	: my cage
[maṛʃ̣ü]	: my illness
[mṛüg:]	: he was made a fool of
[müṛxü]	: slack
[ilỵü:x]	: the others
[q̣ü:ṣ:]	: tell (imp.)
[ṛüqd]	: contract
[ḥüb:]	: love (imp.)

1.4.3.4 The allophone [ə]

[ə] is inserted when an open juncture is brought into close transition and the resulting cluster is not allowed.

/ba:ʀ mtarʀi/	: he sold mine	[bɛ:ʀəmtɛ:ʀü]
/ka:n hna/	: he was here	[kɛ:nəhnɛ]

[ə] occurs also as an epenthetic vowel after C₁ when three-consonant clusters are not allowed.

[yuqətlu]	: they kill
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[tuhərbu]	: you (pl.) run away
[yikətbu]	: they write

1.4.4 Conclusion

There are three main types of phonological changes: emphasis, voicing and devoicing.

a) Emphasis has a pervasive phonetic influence on the adjoining segments. The uvular stop [q] has the same effects on its environment as emphatics.

b) Some voiceless consonants are voiced when occurring in close juncture before voiced consonants.

c) Some voiced consonants are devoiced when occurring in close juncture before voiceless consonants.

The allophone [a] may diverge from the above-mentioned rules with no particular consistency; it can, e.g. be preceded (in some lexical items) by a front non-emphatic consonant as in /lba:ba/, /ba:ʃ/ and /ama:n/.

II PHONOTACTICS

Any initial sequence in the dialect of Sūsa can begin with a consonant, a short or a long vowel.

[kɛlbi]	: my dog
[armi]	: throw (imp.)
[u:ʒlo]	: arrive (imp.)

Initially and medially two and three-consonant clusters are allowed while finally three-consonant combinations are not admitted.

[sthɑq]	: he deserved
[qomblɛ]	: a bomb

2.1 SYLLABLE PATTERNS

There are seventeen syllable patterns in the dialect of Sūsa against six in Classical Arabic.¹

Classical Arabic		Sūsa	
CV	/li/	: for	V- [iktib] : write (imp.)
CVC	/min/	: from	V:- [u:ʒul] : arrive (imp.)
CV:	/ma:/	: negative particle	CV [mɛ] : water
CV:C	/ba:b/	: door	CV:- [yu:qif] : he stands
CVCC	/ħarb/	: war	VC [il] : definite article
CV:C:	/ma:r:/	: passing by	V:C [i:h] : yes
			CVC [bin] : son of
			CV:C [mɛ:t] : he died
			CVCC [marʔ] : illness
			CCVC [fhim] : he understood
			CCV [mra] : woman
			CCV: [qra:yɛ] : reading
			CV:C: [qa:ʒ:] : cutting
			CCVCC [ħlimt] : I dreamt
			CCV:C [rɛ:t] : she became blind
			CCVC [sthɑq] : he deserved
			CCCVCC [stqa:] : he became in- dependent

¹ The syllables CV:C, CVCC and CV:C: occur pausally only. The first-mentioned occurs also in context if the vowel is /a/ and the last consonant is doubled (e.g. /ħa:l:un/ 'arriving').

2.2 DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH /w/ AND /y/

2.2.1 Initially

Initially /y/ and /w/ can be followed by any vowel phoneme.

yV-

/yi/	/yiktib/	: he writes
/ya/	/yaqra/	: he reads
/yu/	/yutlub/	: he asks

yV:-

/yi:/	/yi:bis/	: it hardens
/ya:/	/ya:mir/	: he orders
/yu:/	/yu:gil/	: he arrives

Vy-

/iy/ can phonetically be regarded as [i:].

/iy/	/i:3a/	: come (imp.)
/ay/	/aybis/	: harder

/uy/ does not occur.

V:y-

/i:y/ can phonetically be regarded as an extra long /i:/ as in [i:ybis]
'be harder' (imp.).

/a:y/	/a:ytu/	: his verse (Koran)
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/u:y/ does not occur.

wV-

/wi/	/wildi/	: my son
/wa/	/warda/	: a rose
/wu/	/wusti/	: my waist

wV:-

/wi:/	/wi:n/	: where
/wa:/	/wa:qif/	: standing
/wu:/	/wu:/	: dear me! (used when complaining)

Vw-

/iw/ does not occur.

/aw/	/awsa ^r /	: wider
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/uw/ alternates with /u:/ as in /u:gil/ 'arrive' (imp.).

V.w-

/i:w/ and /a:w/ do not occur.

/u:w/ can phonetically be regarded as an extra long /u/ as in [u:wrüθ]
'inherit' (imp.).

2.2.2 Medially

-yV-

/yu/ does not occur.

/yi/	/mla:yn/	: millions
/ya/	/tyas:af/	: he became sad

-yV:-

/yi:/² does not occur in the genuine dialect.

/ya:/	/ʔya:t/	: she got tired
/yu:/	/malju:n/	: one million

-Vy-

/iy/ corresponds phonetically to [i:].

/ay/	/kay:iʔ/	: he measured
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/uy/ does not occur.

-V:y-

/i:y/	/yibni:yu/	: they build
/a:y/	/na:ya/	: my flute
/u:y/	/ʔdu:ya/	: my enemy

-wV-

/wi/	/ʔwim/	: it got worse
/wa/	/twas:ax/	: he became dirty
/wu/	/ʔwur:/	: one-eyed (pl.)

-wV:-

/wi:/	/ʔwi:ltu/	: his family (dim.)
/wa:/	/ʔwa:m/	: years
/wu:/	/rma:wu:li/	: they threw to me

-Vw-

/iw/ does not occur.

/aw/ corresponds most usually to [u:] but it does occur in some borrowed items and in middle-weak verbs Form II as in /dawla/ 'state' and /raw:aʔ/ 'he went home'.

/uw/	/quw:a/	: strength
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-V:w-

/i:w/ does not occur.

/a:w/	/yaqra:wli/	: they read to me
/u:w/	/mru:wa/	: favour

² This sequence occurs in the semi-classical form /sahyuniyi:n/ 'zionists'.

2.2.3 Finally

-yV

/yi/ does not occur.

/ya/ /ɾya/ : he got tired

/yu/ /yibni:yu/ : they build

-yV:³

/yi:/, /ya:/ and /yu:/ do not occur.

-Vy

/iy/ and /uy/ do not occur.

/ay/ /h̥ay/ : alive

-V:y

/i:y/ and /u:y/ do not occur.

/a:y/ /ra:y/ : view, opinion

-wV

/wi/ /qwi/ : strong

/wa/ /qwa/ : he became stronger

/wu/ does not occur.

-wV:³

/wi:/, /wa:/ and /wu:/ do not occur.

-Vw

/iw/ and /uw/ do not occur.

/aw/ /x̥aw/ : light

-V:w

/i:w/ and /u:w/ do not occur.

/a:w/ /qra:w/ : they read

2.3 DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH CONSONANTS

Excluding /w/ and /y/ there are no restrictions of occurrence between consonant and vowel phonemes. Other than the two semi-vowels, any vowel can be followed or preceded by any consonant. Short vowels occur initially, medially and finally, whereas long vowels occur initially and medially only.

³ The final short vowels which are realized as long when followed by suffixes beginning with consonants are phonematically considered as short.

2.4 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The consonant clusters are listed in the following charts. The consonants in the horizontal position represent the first part of the consonant clusters and the ones in the vertical position represent the second member. A plus (+) indicates the possibility of the consonant combination while a blank space suggests that either a cluster does not occur or that no examples were found.

The dialect of Sūsa has the following cluster patterns:

Initial: CC-, CCC-

Medial: -C:-, -CC-, -C:C-, -CCC-

Final: -C:, -CC

2.4.1 Two-consonant clusters

2.4.1.1 Initial two-consonant clusters

171 consonant clusters are impossible initially while the 558 remaining ones are possible. This big number of possible consonant clusters depends on the disappearance of the short vowels in open initial syllables. Double consonant clusters do not occur initially and those showing the most compatibility with others are: b, f, m, n, l, r, w and y. These consonants may be opposed to the most incompatible group, i.e. the interdental, which however are most important in this dialect since their occurrence is limited to few other sedentary vernaculars in the Western dialect group. The interdentals occur in the following consonant clusters only:

/θb/	[θbit]	: he remembered
/θm/	[θmɛnyɛ]	: eight
/θn/	[θniy:ɛ]	: way
/θl/	[θlɛ:θɛ]	: three
/θr/	[θray:ɛ]	: pendant lamp
/θw/	[θwɛ:b]	: requital
/θy/	[θyɛ:b]	: clothes
/θk/	[θku:kɛ]	: miserable (pl.)
/θq/	[θqɑ:l]	: heavy (pl.)
/θg/	[θgɛ:l]	: heavy (pl.)
/θʀ/	[θʀa:lib]	: foxes
/bθ/	[pθir]	: swelled
/tθ/	[tθu:r]	: you revolt
/dθ/	[dθir]	: he became effaced

/mθ/	[mθɛl:iθ]	: triangular
/nθ/	[nθu:ro]	: we revolt
/lθ/	[lθɛ:m]	: veil (covering the lower part of the face to the nose)
/rθ/	[rθɛ:θ]	: worn clothes
/wθ/	[wθi:qɑ]	: document
/yθ/	[yθu:r]	: he revolts
/kθ/	[kθur]	: it exceeded in number
/xθ/	[xθil]	: it became viscous
/ʀθ/	[ʀθar]	: he stumbled
/ðb/	[ðbil]	: he wilted
/ðm/	[ðmi:m]	: blameworthy
/ðn/	[ðnu:b]	: sins
/ðl/	[ðli:l]	: despicable
/ðr/	[ðra]	: he scattered
/ðw/	[ðwɛ:q]	: tasting
/ðy/	[ðyu:bɛ]	: wolfs
/ðk/	[ðkɛ]	: intelligence
/ðq/	[ðqü:nɛ]	: beard
/ðg/	[ðgi:nɛ]	: beard
/ðx/	[ðxü:ra]	: treasure
/ðʎ/	[ðʎor:]	: dreadful holes
/ðʀ/	[ðʀarni]	: he frightened me
/ðh/	[ðhɛb]	: gold
/bð/	[bðil:]	: he spent freely
/tð/	[tðu:b]	: it melts
/mð/	[mðɛl:ɛ]	: scandal
/nð/	[nðim:u]	: we blame
/lð/	[lði:ð]	: delicious
/rð/	[rði:l]	: low
/wð/	[wði:ntu]	: his ear (dim.)
/yð/	[yðu:q]	: he tastes
/kð/	[kðib]	: he lied
/gð/	[gðifni]	: he threw me away
/qð/	[qðifni]	: he threw me away
/xð/	[xðɛ]	: he took
/ʀð/	[ʀðɛ:b]	: torture
/hð/	[hðɛ]	: near
/hð/	[hði:liy:ɛ]	: proper name (fem.)

Figure 6: Initial two-consonant clusters

	b	t	d	t̥	f	θ	ð	ʒ	s	ʒ	z	ʒ	ʃ	m	n	l	r	w	y	k	g	q	x	ʎ	ʀ	h
26	b	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22	t	+		+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21	d	+			+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21	t̥	+			+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24	f	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12	θ	+	+	+											+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+	
15	ð	+	+												+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
16	ʒ	+	+		+										+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17	s	+	+		+							+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16	ʒ	+	+		+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19	z	+	+	+	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18	ʒ	+	+	+	+	+			+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19	ʃ	+	+	+	+	+									+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	m	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25	l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25	r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	w	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	y	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19	k	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+	+	+
19	g	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+
21	q	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+
18	x	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
18	ʎ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+						
22	ʀ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
19	h	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22	h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

/ǫb/	[ǫbɛ:b]	: fog
/ǫt/	[ǫtar:ü:t]	: I was obligated to
/ǫf/	[ǫfar]	: nail
/ǫm/	[ǫmi:r]	: innermost
/ǫn/	[ǫnɛ]	: baby
/ǫl/	[ǫlɛ:m]	: dark
/ǫr/	[ǫrab]	: he hit
/ǫw/	[ǫwa]	: he became lighter
/ǫy/	[ǫyu:f]	: guests
/ǫx/	[ǫxa:mɛ]	: luxury
/ǫʎ/	[ǫʎat]	: he compressed
/ǫʀ/	[ǫʀa:f]	: he became weaker
/ǫh/	[ǫhüy:ɛ]	: immolation
/ǫh/	[ǫhor]	: he appeared
/bǫ/	[bǫo]mu]	: with his injustice
/tǫ/	[tǫor:]	: you harm
/fǫ/	[fǫol:]	: he was
/mǫ/	[mǫal:ɛ]	: hat
/nǫ/	[nǫoʒ:]	: he became ripe
/lǫ/	[lǫoʀfu]	: for his weakness
/rǫ/	[rǫa]	: he got satisfied
/wǫ/	[wǫü:fɛ]	: job, position
/yǫ/	[yǫü:ʀ]	: he gets lost
/qǫ/	[qǫü:b]	: iron stick
/gǫ/	[gǫü:b]	: iron stick
/xǫ/	[xǫor]	: green (pl.)
/ʎǫ/	[ʎǫab]	: he became angry
/ʀǫ/	[ʀǫa:m]	: bones, eggs
/hǫ/	[hǫar]	: he was present
/hǫ/	[hǫa:yib]	: slopes

2.4.1.2 Medial two-consonant clusters

Medially 575 consonant clusters are possible and 154 are impossible. Double consonants occur, which is not the case in initial clusters, and apart from the impossible cluster /lr/ the consonants b, m, n, l, r, w and y form freely clusters with all of the consonants. On the other hand the interdentals (with /k/ and /ʎ/) are most incompatible and occur in the following clusters only:

/θb/	[iθbit]	: remember (imp.)
/θt/	[muθtɛ:r]	: avenging

/θ:/	[biθ:u:m]	: with the garlic
/θm/	[ɛθmin]	: more precious
/θn/	[liθ:nɛ:yɛ]	: to the roads
/θl/	[biθlɛ:θɛ]	: with three
/θr/	[miθrū]	: rich
/θw/	[ɛθwɛb]	: more meritorious
/θy/	[ɛθyiɔ]	: more trustworthy
/θg/	[lɛθgil]	: the heaviest
/θq/	[laθqül]	: the heaviest
/mθ/	[limθaʳlib]	: the foxy one
/bθ/	[mɛpθu:r]	: pimples
/tθ/	[mitθaq:üf]	: educated
/dθ/	[mɛdθu:r]	: effaced
/lθ/	[mɛlθu:m]	: obsessed
/rθ/	[mirθi]	: poor
/wθ/	[ɛwθaq]	: surer
/yθ/	[mɛyθu:rü]	: he does not revolt
/kθ/	[lɛkθɛrüy:ɛ]	: the majority
/ʳθ/	[baʳθu]	: they sent
/hθ/	[bahθu]	: they examined, interrogated

/ðb/	[miðbɛ:l]	: wilted
/ð:/	[kið:i:b]	: like the wolf
/ðm/	[biðmi:mtu]	: with his fault
/ðn/	[ɛðnɛb]	: more vicious
/ðr/	[miðrū]	: scattered
/ðw/	[biðwɛ:q]	: tasting permitted
/ðy/	[biðyu:lu]	: with his tails
/ðk/	[lɛðkɛ]	: the most intelligent
/ðx/	[ið:xü:ra]	: the treasure
/ðʳ/	[mɛðʳo:r]	: frightened
/bð/	[mɛbðu:l]	: spent freely
/tð/	[midðir:ü]	: scattered
/mð/	[limðɛ:lil]	: the scandals
/nð/	[mɛnðlu]	: so low he is!
/lð/	[ɛlðið]	: more delicious
/rð/	[arðil]	: lower
/wð/	[biwði:ntu]	: with his ear (dim.) ⁴

⁴ /biwði:ntu/ alternates with /buði:ntu/.

Figure 7: Medial two-consonant clusters

		b	t	d	t̃	f	θ	ð	ʒ	s	ʒ	z	ʒ	ʃ	m	n	l	r	w	y	k	g	q	x	ɣ	ʁ	h	h
27	b	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20	t	+	+			+				+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22	d	+		+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20	t̃	+			+	+				+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
23	f		+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
13	θ	+	+	+			+								+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+	+	
16	ð	+	+					+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17	ʒ	+	+			+		+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
20	s	+	+	+	+	+				+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18	ʒ	+	+	+	+	+				+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
20	z	+	+	+	+	+						+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20	ʒ	+	+	+	+	+				+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
20	ʃ	+	+	+	+	+								+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	m	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	w	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
27	y	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
17	k	+	+	+		+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+
20	g	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+
20	q	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
19	x	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+
17	ɣ	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+		+
23	ʁ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
21	h̃	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
21	h	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

/yð/	[mɛyðu:bi]	: it does not melt
/kð/	[yikðib]	: he lies
/gð/	[tigðif]	: you throw away
/qð/	[niqðif]	: I throw away
/xð/	[mɛ:xðɛ]	: taking (fem.)
/ʏð/	[miʏði]	: nourished
/ʳð/	[laʳðɛ:b]	: the torture
/hð/	[bahðɛ:yɛ]	: near me
/ð̥b/	[ð̥baʳ]	: wild cat
/ð̥:/	[əð̥:yu:f]	: the guests
/ð̥m/	[bið̥mi:ro]	: with his innermost
/ð̥n/	[kið̥nɛ:h]	: like his baby
/ð̥l/	[að̥lɛm]	: darker
/ð̥r/	[mað̥ro:b]	: hit
/ð̥w/	[mið̥wi]	: lit
/ð̥y/	[mið̥yɛ:f]	: hospitable
/ð̥ʳ/	[yið̥ʳa:f]	: he gets weaker
/ð̥x/	[að̥xam]	: more luxurious
/ð̥ʎ/	[mað̥ʎo:t]	: compressed
/ð̥h/	[yað̥hak]	: he laughs
/ð̥h/	[yoð̥hur]	: he shows up
/bð̥/	[bð̥a:yiʳ]	: things
/fð̥/	[fð̥a:yiḥ]	: scandals, humiliations
/tð̥/	[mitð̥aʳ:ür]	: being harmed
/mð̥/	[limð̥al:il]	: the one being in the shadow
/nð̥/	[in:ð̥ü:f]	: the clean
/lð̥/	[milð̥ü]	: lighting
/rð̥/	[yarð̥a]	: he consents
/wð̥/	[mawð̥o:ʳ] ⁵	: subject
/yð̥/	[mayð̥or:ü]	: he does not do any harm
/gð̥/	[migð̥ü]	: done
/qð̥/	[miqð̥ü]	: done
/xð̥/	[axð̥aʳ]	: green
/ʎð̥/	[laʎð̥ab]	: the most furious
/ʳð̥/	[laʳð̥am]	: the eggs, bones
/hð̥/	[mahð̥aʳ:ʎ]	: he was not present
/hð̥/	[lahð̥a:yib]	: the slopes

⁵ The lexical item /mawð̥u:ʳ/ alternates with /muð̥u:ʳ/.

2.4.1.3 Final two-consonant clusters

251 final consonant clusters are possible against 478 impossible ones. This large number of impossible consonant clusters depends mainly on the frequency of the monosyllabic items with the CCVC pattern. Consonant-doubling is allowed and the interdentalals occur in the following 15 clusters only:

/θ:/	[ħaθ:]	: he encouraged
/bθ/	[xopθ]	: malignancy
/ħθ/	[baħθ]	: examination, interrogation
/ʳθ/	[baʳθ]	: sending
/ð:/	[ħüð:]	: take (one's) part (imp.)
/ðf/	[qüðf]	: throwing away
/ðx/	[bεðx]	: luxury
/ð:/	[nqað:]	: he saved
/ðr/	[naðr]	: view
/bð/	[naðð]	: pulse
/fð/	[rafð]	: rejection
/rð/	[marð]	: disease
/kð/	[rakð]	: galloping
/ɣð/	[boɣð]	: hate
/hð/	[nahð]	: awakening

2.4.2 Three-consonant clusters

Initial and medial clusters consist maximally of three consonants while final clusters have a maximum membership of two consonants.

2.4.2.1 Initial consonant clusters

Only the following three-consonant clusters are possible:

(stɣ)	[stɣal:]	: he exploited
(stq)	[stqal:]	: he became independent
(stʳ)	[stʳa:r]	: he got ashamed
(stm)	[stmar:]	: he continued
(sth)	[sthɑq:]	: he deserved
(stw)	[stwε:t]	: she arranged
(stf)	[stfε:d]	: he got use of
(stx)	[stxaf:]	: he applied (to a person for)
(nth)	[nthar]	: he committed suicide
(ntq)	[ntqam] ⁶	: he avenged

⁶ Two informants in the younger generation used /tnɑq:am/ instead of /ntqam/.

Figure 8: Final two-consonant clusters

		b	t	d	t̥	f	θ	ð	ð̥	s	ʒ	z	ʒ	ʃ	m	n	l	r	w	y	k	g	q	x	ɣ	ʀ	h	h
13	b	+	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							+	+	
11	t	+	+											+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
13	d	+		+		+				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
11	t̥	+			+	+				+		+											+	+	+	+	+	+
17	f	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+		
4	θ	+					+																			+	+	
1	ð							+																				
7	ð̥	+					+		+									+		+		+		+		+		+
16	s	+	+	+	+	+				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
12	ʒ	+		+	+					+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9	z	+			+					+	+	+									+			+	+	+	+	+
7	ʒ										+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14	ʃ	+			+									+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
16	m	+	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6	n				+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14	l	+	+		+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18	r	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	w			+															+									
1	y																			+								
6	k	+							+					+	+	+	+	+	+		+							
7	g		+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+						+	+
11	q		+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+					+	+
8	x	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+										+					
3	ɣ	+												+										+				
8	ʀ	+								+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							+		
11	h̥	+	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							+		
5	h	+			+					+				+													+	+

There are two types of initial three-consonant clusters: stC and ntC. The 8 of the 10 possible clusters in the dialect of Sūsa have the pattern stC where C happens to be /m/, /w/, /f/, /q/, /x/, /ʃ/, /h/ or /ʀ/. The two remaining clusters: /ntʃ/ and /ntq/ are lexically limited groups. i.e. they occur in the two above-mentioned examples only.

2.4.2.2 Medial three-consonant clusters

Pattern -C:C-

Medially 416 clusters are possible against 313 impossible ones. The consonants b, m, d, l, n and r have bigger combinatory possibilities than the other consonants. The interdental occurs in 52 clusters.

Pattern -CCC-

Only medial three-consonant clusters beginning with a sonorant are allowed in careful speech.

(mbk)	[ʒɛmbkum]	: your side
(mbh)	[ʒɛmbhɛ]	: her side
(mqt)	[jamqʈo]	: he persecutes him
(msh)	[ɛmsʃu]	: they wiped
(nbt)	[yinbtu]	: they grow (plant)
(nfr)	[yunfro]	: they withdraw
(nbr)	[yunbro]	: they are bright new
(nfʀ)	[ɛnfʀu]	: they are useful
(ndh)	[ʀandhɛ]	: in her possession
(ndk)	[ʀandkum]	: in your possession
(nbʃ)	[ɛnbʃu]	: they bark
(nʃr)	[yunsʃro]	: they cause one to conquer an enemy
(ntʒ)	[yintʒu]	: they produce
(nʃr)	[yinʃro]	: they get jealous
(nks)	[yunksu]	: they are sweeping
(nkb)	[yinʃkbu]	: they make someone unhappy
(nsb)	[yinsbu]	: they attribute
(nqb)	[yunqbu]	: they are boring a hole
(lbn)	[kɛlbnɛ]	: our dog
(lbk)	[kɛlbkum]	: your dog
(lbh)	[kɛlbhum]	: their dog
(lqf)	[yulqfu]	: they catch (receive)
(lʃm)	[yilʃmu]	: they solder
(lʃs)	[ɛlʃsu]	: they lick

Figure 9: Medial three-consonant clusters
Pattern -C:C-

	bb	tt	dd	tt̥	ff	θθ	ðð	ðð̥	ss	ʂʂ	zz	ʒʒ	mm	nn	ll	rr	ww	yy	kk	gg	qq	xx	γγ	pp	hh	hh
25	b	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21	t	+			+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22	d	+			+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14	t̥	+			+				+	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+			+	
18	f		+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+
3	θ													+	+	+										
10	ð											+		+	+	+	+	+	+			+		+	+	+
2	ð̥													+		+										
11	s	+		+		+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+	+	+
10	ʂ				+	+							+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+				
9	z	+			+	+					+		+			+	+							+		+
8	ʒ	+	+					+	+				+			+	+	+	+							
12	ʒ̥				+	+							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+
23	m		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
21	n	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
26	l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
25	r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14	w		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
14	y		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
16	k	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+				
16	g	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
16	q	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
16	x	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
8	γ			+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
20	ʀ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
19	h̥	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
17	h	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					

(rf ^ə)	[ʃarfu]	: his shelf
(rb ^t)	[yurb ^t to]	: they tie
(r ^ə n)	[ʃar ^ə nɛ]	: our illness
(r ^ə k)	[ʃar ^ə kum]	: your illness
(r ^ə h)	[ʃar ^ə hum]	: their illness

The epenthetic vowel [ə] is inserted after C₁ when the first consonant in the cluster is not a sonorant.

(bht)	[tibəhtu]	: you get astonished
(fhm)	[nifəhmu]	: we understand
(θpt)	[yiθəptu]	: they remember
(qsm)	[yaqəsmu]	: they divide
(^ə ml)	[ya ^ə mlu]	: they do
(sm ^ə)	[yɛsəmpu]	: they hear
(ʒfl)	[yiʒəflu]	: they run away
(smk)	[isəmkum]	: your (pl.) name
(qbt)	[əqəblu]	: receive (imp.)

In rapid speech the following eight medial three consonant clusters are also permitted. When speaking carefully an epenthetic vowel will be inserted after C₁.

<u>slow tempo</u>			<u>rapid speech</u>
(stɣ)	[yisətɣ ^ə l:o]	: they exploit	[yistɣ ^ə l:o]
(stq)	[tisətq ^ə l:o]	: you become in- dependent	[tistq ^ə l:o]
(st ^ə)	[yisət ^ə a:ro]	: they get ashamed	[yist ^ə a:ro]
(stm)	[tisətm ^ə ar:o]	: you continue	[tistm ^ə ar:o]
(sth)	[nisəth ^ə q:o]	: we deserve	[nisth ^ə q:o]
(stw)	[tisətwi:yu]	: you arrange	[tistwi:yu]
(stf)	[yisətfɛ:d]	: he gets use of	[yistfɛ:d]
(stx)	[tisətxaf:]	: you apply (to a person)	[tistxaf:]

Morphology

I VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The most important feature of the verbal morphology of Arabic is that most verb stems consist of three radicals. To start from the basic forms, the stems can be extended by adding systematically one or several affixes finally to attain up to nine additional forms.¹ In Classical Arabic, as well as in most Arabic dialects, the verb stems can be divided into the seven following groups:²

1

The regular verbs which consist of three strong radicals:

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Sūsa</u>
/kataba/	: to write	/ktib/

2

The so-called geminate verbs where C_2 is doubled:

/mar:a/	: to pass	/mar:/
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3

The initial-weak verbs where C_1 is /w/ or /y/:

/wazina/	: to weigh	/wzin/
/yabisa/	: to be dry	/ybis/

4

The middle-weak verbs where C_2 is /w/ or /y/:

/qa:la/	: to say	/qa:l/
/ma:la/	: to incline	/ma:l/

5

The final-weak verbs where C_3 is /w/ or /y/:

/nama:/	: to develop	/nma/
/laqa:/	: to meet	/lqa/
/saqa:/	: to give to drink	/sqa/

¹ The number of the derived forms varies in different dialects.

² In some Arabic dialects also other verb types occur, e.g. /dʒa/, /yɛdʒi/ 'to come' where C_1 is strong but the verb is neither (5) nor (6). The dialect of Sūsa has two such verbs, i.e. /ʒa/ 'to come' and /ra/ 'to see'.

The doubly weak verbs where C_1 and C_3 consist of /w/ or /y/:

Classical Arabic

/wafa:/

: to carry out an
agreement

Sūsa

/wfa/

The quadriradical verbs which consist of four radicals:

/ʔantara/

: to display heroism

/ʔantir/

The verb in the dialect of Sūsa as well as in most Arabic dialects gets, as mentioned above, the same morphological division. However an eighth verb type, i.e. the 'hamzated' verbs can also be noticed even though such verbs lost the /ʔ/ and changed structure in most Arabic dialects³. The dialect of Sūsa has two moods, viz. the indicative and the imperative mood. There are two aspects in the dialect of Sūsa, i.e. the perfective and the imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect indicates the past while the imperfective indicates the non-past in the present, future or past. However the imperfect has most often a present meaning. The dual-form is non-existent and there is no distinction of gender in 2nd and 3rd p. pl. The morphological alterations in the vernacular of Sūsa led to neutralisation between the 2nd p. sing. masc. and fem.

³ Cf. p. 90 below.

1.1 REGULAR FORM

1.1.1 The regular verb

	<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Imperfect</u>
Singular			
3rd masc.	qlib	: he turned	yiqlib
3rd fem.	qūlbit		tiqlib
2nd c.	qlibt		tiqlib
1st c.	qlibt		niqlib
Plural			
3rd c.	qūlbu		yiqəlbū
2nd c.	qlibtu		tiqəlbū
1st c.	qlibnə		niqəlbū

	<u>Imperative</u>
Singular	iqlib
Plural	iqəlbū

	<u>Participles</u>		
	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active	qɑ:lib	qɑ:lbɛ	qɑ:lbi:n
Passive	maqlu:b	maqlu:bɛ	maqlubi:n

1.1.1.1 Perfect

The disappearance of the older short vowels in the final position has neutralized the morphological opposition between 1st and 2nd p. sing.⁴ The suffix /u/ occurring in 3rd p. pl. corresponds to the Classical perfective suffix /u:/. Some verbs in the dialect of Sūsa have the same characteristic vowel as in Classical Arabic while others have a different vowel.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Sūsa</u>
/qatala/	: he killed	[qʔal]
/labisa/	: he dressed	[lbis]
/qaruba/	: he got closer	[qʁob]
/samiʔa/	: he heard	[smɛʔ]
/ʔariqa/	: he drowned	[ʔroq]
/kabura/	: he grew up	[kbir]

⁴ The same phenomenon occurs in other sedentary Western dialects as in Tlemcen-ville, Djidjelli, Alger, Tunis, Fes (Jewish). Cf. GRAND-HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 46.

Verb stems including an emphatic or a uvular consonant have most often /u/ or [a] while the remaining verb stems have usually /i/ or [ɛ], i.e. the quality of the vowels is mainly phonetically conditioned.

1.1.1.2 Imperfect

The dialect of Sūsa has, as the other Western dialects, the prefix /n(v)/ for 1st p. sing. The vowels of the prefixes are most often modified in order to harmonize with the 'characteristic' vowel.

[yaʎlaq]	: he closes
[yiktib]	: he writes
[yuʎroq]	: he drowns
[yuŋkur]	: he denies
[yuhrob]	: he runs away

The most frequent stem vowel in the imperfect as well as in the perfect is /i/. In the plural an epenthetic vowel is inserted when three-consonant clusters are not allowed.⁵

[yinyro]	: they get jealous
[yaŋqto]	: they persecute
[yilhmu]	: they solder
[yurbto]	: they tie
[yaqəsmu]	: they divide, they share
[yɛʔəmlu]	: they do
[yɛsəməu]	: they hear
[yuqəʔdu]	: they sit down

1.1.1.3 Imperative

The imperative forms have always the same stem as in the imperfect. The imperative prefix is /i/, /a/ or /u/ depending on the quality of the stem vowel, i.e. it is always identical with the stem vowel.

[yiktib]	: he writes	[iktib]
[yikrim]	: he becomes generous	[ikrim]
[yiqfil]	: he locks	[iqfil]
[yuʎroq]	: he drowns	[uʎroq]
[yuknus]	: he sweeps	[uknus]
[yuqros]	: he pinches	[uqros]
[yatlaʔ]	: he gets up	[atlaʔ]

⁵ See medial three-consonant clusters pp. 73-75 above.

[yɛʔmɛl]	: he does	[ɛʔmɛl]
[yɛsfɛh]	: he lies	[ɛsfɛh]

1.1.1.4 Participles

The active participle has the same morphological structure as in Classical Arabic, i.e. Ca:CaC.

[kɛ:tib]	: writing
[ɛa:mil]	: doing
[kɛ:nis]	: sweeping
[qɑ:sim]	: dividing, sharing

The passive participle is also the same as in Classical Arabic and has the pattern maCCu:C.

[mɛktu:b]	: written
[maʃro:q]	: stolen

There is no distinction of gender in pl. active and passive participles.

[kɛ:tbi:n]	: writing (pl. c.)
[mɛktubi:n]	: written (pl. c.)

1.1.2 The geminate verb

	<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Imperfect</u>
Singular			
3rd masc.	rad:	: he answered	yrod: ~ irod:
3rd fem.	rad:it		trod:
2nd c.	rad:i:t		trod:
1st c.	rad:i:t		nrod:
Plural			
3rd c.	rad:u		yrod:u ~ irod:u
2nd c.	rad:i:tu		trod:u
1st c.	rad:i:ne		nrod:u

	<u>Imperative</u>
Singular	rod:
Plural	rod:u

	<u>Participles</u>		
	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active	ra:did ~ ra:d:	ra:d:ɛ	ra:d:i:n
Passive	maardu:d	maardu:dɛ	maardu:i:n

1.1.2.1 Perfect

The stem vowel of the perfect in geminate verbs is always /a/. In the dialect of Sūsa the perfect is inflected like final /y/ verbs in Form II, except in the suffixless sing. 3rd masc. This is one of the major common features where the modern Arabic dialects diverge from Classical Arabic in which the geminate does not occur before suffixes beginning with consonants.

	<u>Classical Arabic</u>	<u>Sūsa</u>
Singular		
3rd masc.	/rad:a/	[rad:]
3rd fem.	/rad:at/	[rad:it]
2nd masc.	/radadta/	[rad:i:t]
2nd fem.	/radadti/	
1st c.	/radadtu/	[rad:i:t]
Plural		
3rd masc.	/rad:u:/	[rad:u]
3rd fem.	/radadna/	
2nd masc.	/radadtum/	[rad:i:tu]
2nd fem.	/radadtun:a/	
1st c.	/radadna:/	[rad:i:t]

1.1.2.2 Imperfect

The vowel of the prefix in the unstressed syllable⁶ disappears when the verb stem begins with the sequence CV-.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Sūsa</u>
/ʔV+ʔid:u/	: I hold	[nʔid:]
/tV+ʔut:u/	: you put	[tʔot:]
/yV+kur:u/	: he pulls	[ykur:] ~ [ikur:]
/nV+qag:u/	: we cut	[nqoḡ:o]
/tV+gub:u:na/	: you (pl.) pour	[tḡob:u]
/yV+gub:u:na/	: they pour	[yḡob:u] ~ [iḡob:u]

The stem vowel in the imperfect is /i/ or /u/ depending on the quality of the stem vowel in the perfect, i.e. verbs with stem vowel [ɛ] in the perfect get /i/ in the imperfect while verbs with [a] get /u/.

<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Imperfect</u>
[mɛd:]	: he took out	[ymid:] ~ [imid:]
[ʔɛd:]	: he held	[ʔid:] ~ [iʔid:]

⁶ In 3rd p. sing. and pl. the vowel of the prefix is preserved in the dialect of Cherchell, Tunis and Alger (Jewish), see GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherchell*, p. 49, STUMME, *Grammatik des tunesischen Arabisch*, pp. 12-13, and M. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, pp. 182-185.

PerfectImperfect

[mɛl:i:t]	: you became bored	[tmil:]	
[sɛb:i:t]	: I swore	[nsib:]	
[rad:]	: he answered	[yrod:]	[irod:]
[qas:ü:t]	: you cut	[tqos:]	
[mas:ü:t]	: I sucked	[nmos:]	
[hat:ü:to]	: you (pl.) put	[thot:o]	

1.1.2.3 Imperative

The stem of the imperative is identical with the imperfect stem.

ImperfectImperative

[trod:]	: you answer	[rod:]
[tmid:]	: you take out	[mid:]
[tsob:u]	: you (pl.) pour	[sob:u]
[trod:u]	: you (pl.) answer	[rod:u]

1.1.2.4 Participles

The active participle sing. masc. has two possible patterns, i.e. $C_1a:C_2iC_2$ and $C_1a:C_2C_2$. The first pattern is very frequent among men of the older generation as well as in the old tales, e.g. /ra:did/ 'answering', /ha:tüt/ 'putting' and /qa:xiḡ/ 'cutting'. The second pattern is very usual among the younger generation and women, e.g. /ra:d:/, /ha:t:/ and /qa:ḡ:/.

1.1.3 The initial-weak verbPerfectSingular

3rd masc. wṣül ~ uṣül⁷ : he arrived ybis ~ ibis : he (it) hardened, dried

3rd fem. wiṣlit yibsit

2nd c. wṣült ~ uṣült ybist ~ ibist

1st c. wṣült ~ uṣült ybist ~ ibist

Plural

3rd c. wiṣlo yibsu

2nd c. wṣültu ~ uṣültu ybistu ~ ibistu

1st c. wṣülne ~ uṣülne ybisne ~ ibisne

⁷ The location of stress shifts in accordance with the prosodic rules of the dialect, i.e. the lexical item [wṣül] gets the primary stress only whereas [uṣül] receives a primary and secondary stress, e.g. [uṣül].

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	yu:ʒül	yi:bis
3rd fem.	tu:ʒül	ti:bis
2nd c.	tu:ʒül	ti:bis
1st c.	nu:ʒül	ni:bis

Plural

3rd c.	yu:ʒlu	yi:bsu
2nd c.	tu:ʒlu	ti:bsu
1st c.	nu:ʒlu	ni:bsu

Imperative

Singular	u:ʒül	i:bis
Plural	u:ʒlu	i:bsu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.
Active	wa:ʒül	yɛ:bis	wa:ʒla	yɛ:bsɛ	wa:ʒlū:n yɛ:bsi:n
Passive	muzu:n	-----	muzu:nɛ	-----	muzuni:n -----

1.1.3.1 Perfect

Initial-weak verbs with /y/ radical are very rare in all Tunisian dialects, e.g. the dialect of Sūsa has only the verb /ybis/. [w] and [y] alternate with [u] and [i] respectively. However in the majority of idiolects /w/ is most often realized as [w] in the older generation while /w/ is usually rendered by [u] in the younger generation. The realisation of /y/ as [i] in the singular is deeply rooted among all speakers for the verb /ybis/ while in the plural /y/ has the allophone [y], e.g. [ybisɛ] and [ybistu].

1.1.3.2 Imperfect

Verb stems with initial /w/ and /y/ get in the imperfect the prefixes /Cu:/ and /Ci:/ respectively.⁸ The radicals /w/ and /y/ are realized as [ː], i.e. in analogy with the imperfect of the strong verb /Cuw/ and /Ciy/ correspond to [Cuː] and [Ciː].

⁸ The same phenomenon occurs in some North African Beduin dialects. Cf. Ph. MARÇAIS, Contributions à l'étude du parler arabe de Saâda, p. 61, D. COHEN, Le dialecte arabe Hassānīya de Mauritanie, p. 97, and W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe des Ūlād Brāhīm de Saïda, p. 82.

Classical Arabic

/yagīlu/	: he arrives
/taqīfu/	: she stands up
/tasiqū/	: you export
/ʔabisu/	: I dry

Sūsa

[wʒūl] ~ [uʒūl]	[yu:ʒūl]
[wiqfit]	[tu:qūf]
[wsiq̣ṭ] ~ [usiq̣ṭ]	[tu:siq]
[ybist] ~ [ibist]	[ni:bis]

1.1.3.3 Imperative

The verb stem in the imperative is identical with the imperfect stem. The imperative prefix is also identical with the vowel of the imperfective prefix.

[yu:ʒi r]	: he hurts	[u:ʒi r]	[u:ʒro]
[yu:qūf]	: he stands up	[u:qūf]	[u:qfu]
[yu:ʒid]	: he finds	[u:ʒid]	[u:ʒdu]
[yi:bis]	: he (it) dries	[i:bis]	[i:bsu]

1.1.3.4 Participles

Only transitive verbs form passive participles.

[wʒid] ~ [uʒid]	: he found	[muʒu:d]
[wzin] ~ [uzin]	: he weighed	[muʒu:n]
[wsiq] ~ [usiq]	: he exported	[muʒu:q]

1.1.4 The middle-weak verb

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	qɑ:l	: he said	xa:f	: he got scared	mɛ:l	: he in-
3rd fem.	qɑ:lit		xa:fit		mɛ:lit	clined
2nd c.	qolt		xuft		milt	
1st c.	qolt		xuft		milt	

Plural

3rd c.	qɑ:lu		xa:fu		mɛ:lu
2nd c.	qoltu		xuftu		miltu
1st c.	qolnɛ		xufnɛ		milnɛ

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	iqo:l ~ yqo:l	ixa:f ~ yxa:f	imi:l ~ ymi:l
-----------	---------------	---------------	---------------

3rd fem.	tqo:l	txa:f	tmi:l
2nd c.	tqo:l	txa:f	tmi:l
1st c.	nqo:l	nxa:f	nmi:l
Plural			
3rd c.	iqo:lu ~ yqo:lu	ixa:fu ~ yxa:fu	imi:lu ~ ymi:lu
2nd c.	tqo:lu	txa:fu	tmi:lu
1st c.	nqo:lu	nxa:fu	nmi:lu

Imperative

Singular	qo:l	xa:f	mi:l
Plural	qo:lu	xa:fu	mi:lu

Participles

	masc.			fem.		
Active	qa:yil	xa:yif	mɛ:yil	qa:ylɛ	xa:yfɛ	mɛ:ylɛ
Passive	muqa:l	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	pl.					
Active	qa:yili:n	xa:yfi:n	mɛ:yili:n			
Passive	-----	-----	-----			

1.1.4.1 Perfect

Verb stems with medial /w/ or /y/ have stem vowel /u/ and /i/ respectively when followed by suffixes beginning with consonants.

[qa:l]	[qolt]	[qolnɛ]	[qoltu]
[xa:f]	[xuft]	[xufnɛ]	[xuftu]
[mɛ:l]	[milt]	[milnɛ]	[miltu]

1.1.4.2 Imperfect

With the exception of the verb /yba:t/ 'he stays overnight' medial weak verbs have in the imperfect always the same stem vowel as in Classical Arabic.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Sūsa</u>
/yaxa:fu/	: he becomes scared	[ixa:f] ~ [yxa:f]
/taqu:lu/	: she says	[tqo:l]
/tami:lu/	: you incline	[tmi:l]
/ʔabi:tu/	: I stay overnight	[nbɛ:t]

1.1.4.3 Imperative

The imperative stem is identical with the imperfect stem which due to the syllable structure is not the case in Classical Arabic.

Classical Arabic

/xɑf/

/qul/

/miːl/

/xɑ:fuː/

/quːluː/

/miːluː/

Sūsa

/yχɑ:f/ [χɑ:f]

/yqu:l/ [qo:l]

/ymi:l/ [mi:l]

/yχɑ:fu/ [χɑ:fu]

/yquːlu/ [qo:lu]

/ymiːlu/ [mi:lu]

1.1.4.4 Participles

Only transitive verbs form passive participles.

[bɛ:ɾ] : he sold [mubɛ:ɾ]⁹

[qɑ:m] : he lifted [muqɑ:m]

[sɛ:l] : he owed [musɛ:l]

1.1.5 The final-weak verb

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc. sqɑ : he watered qra : he read ɾfɛ : he forgave

3rd fem. sqɑ:t qra:t ɾfɛ:t

2nd c. sqü:t qrü:t ɾfi:t

1st c. sqü:t qrü:t ɾfi:t

Plural

3rd c. sqɑ:w qra:w ɾfɛ:w

2nd c. sqü:tu qrü:tu ɾfi:tu

1st c. sqü:nɛ qrü:nɛ ɾfi:nɛ

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc. yisqü yaqra yarfu

3rd fem. tisqü taqra tarfu

2nd c. tisqü taqra tarfu

1st c. nisqü naqra narfu

⁹ The vowel /u/ is exceptionally preserved in unstressed open syllables.

Plural

3rd c.	yisqū:yu	yaqra:w	ya ^ɸ fɛ:w
2nd c.	tisqū:yu	taqra:w	ta ^ɸ fɛ:w
1st c.	nisqū:yu	naqra:w	na ^ɸ fɛ:w

Imperative

Singular	isqū	aqra	a ^ɸ fu
Plural	isqū:yu	aqra:w	a ^ɸ fɛ:w

Participles

	masc.			fem.		
Active	sɛ:qū	qɑ:rū	ɸa:fi	sɛ:qya	qɑ:rya	ɸa:fya
Passive	misqū	miqrū	mi ^ɸ fi	misqūy:ɛ	miqrūy:ɛ	mi ^ɸ fiy:a
	pl.					
Active	sɛqū:n		qɑrū:n	ɸafi:n		
Passive	misqūyi:n~misqū:n		miqrūyi:n~miqrū:n	mi ^ɸ fiyi:n~mi ^ɸ fi:n		

1.1.5.1 Perfect

The stem vowel is lengthened when followed by a suffix.

[mɪɛ]	: he filled	[mɪɛ:t]	[mɪɛ:w]
[ħbɛ]	: he crept	[ħbi:t]	[ħbi:tu]
[qra]	: he read	[qrū:t]	[qrū:tu]

1.1.5.2 Imperfect

In the imperfect, verb stems get the characteristic vowel /i/, /u/ or /a/. Verbs final /ʔ/ in Classical Arabic correspond always in the dialect of Sūsa to verbs final /y/ with stem vowel /a/ in the imperfect.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/yaqraʔu/	: he reads	[yaqra]
/tamlaʔu/	: you fill	[tɛmlɛ]
/nabdaʔu/	: we begin	[nɛbdɛ:w]

Verbs final /y/ in Classical Arabic with stem vowel /a/ correspond always to verbs with the characteristic vowel /a/ in the dialect of Sūsa.

Classical Arabic		Susa
/yansa:/	: he forgets	[yɛnsɛ]
/yasʔa:/	: he attempts	[yɛsʔa]
/yarʔa:/	: he consents	[yarʔa]

The dialect of Sūsa has two verbs with the characteristic vowel /u/¹⁰ in the singular, i.e. the verbs /*yaʔfu*/ 'he forgives' and /*yaḥbu*/ 'he creeps' get stem vowels /a/ and /i/ respectively when inflected in the plural.

[<i>yaʔfu</i>]	: he forgives	[<i>yaʔfɛ:w</i>]
[<i>yaḥbu</i>]	: he creeps	[<i>yaḥbi:yu</i>]

In the imperfect, the vowel of the prefix is always identical with the stem vowel unless the latter is /u/.

[<i>yaqra</i>]	: he reads
[<i>yaqwa</i>]	: he gets stronger
[<i>yarwa</i>]	: he drinks his fill
[<i>yikwi</i>]	: he burns
[<i>yiʃwi</i>]	: he grills
[<i>yinfi</i>]	: he denies

If the stem vowel is /u/ the prefix gets a /a/ vowel.

[<i>yaḥbu</i>]	: he creeps
[<i>yaʔfu</i>]	: he forgives

Verbs with the characteristic vowel /a/ in the singular have the final sequence /a:w/ in the plural while those with /i/ have /i:yu/.

[<i>yaqra</i>]	[<i>yaqra:w</i>]
[<i>yaqwa</i>]	[<i>yaqwa:w</i>]
[<i>yisqū</i>]	[<i>yisqū:yu</i>]

1.1.5.3 Imperative

The verb stem in the imperative is always identical with the imperfective stem. The imperative suffix is also identical with the vowel occurring in the prefix of the imperfect.

[<i>yaqra</i>]	[<i>aqra</i>]
[<i>yaḥbu</i>]	[<i>aḥbu</i>]
[<i>yisqū</i>]	[<i>isqū</i>]

1.1.5.4 Participles

The active participle has the pattern CaCi in the masculine, Ca:Cya in the feminine and CaCi:n in the plural.

[<i>ʃɛ:rü</i>]	: bying
[<i>ʃɛ:rya</i>]	: bying (fem.)
[<i>ʃɛrū:n</i>]	: bying (pl.)

¹⁰ The verbs with stem vowel /u/ are very rare in all North African dialects, see GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherchell*, p. 54.

The passive participle has the pattern miCCi in the masculine, miCCiy:a in the feminine and the two alternating patterns: miCCiyi:n and miCCi:n in the plural.

[mi}rü]

[mi}rüy:a]

[mi}rüyi:n] ~ [mi}rü:n]

1.1.6 The doubly weak verb¹¹

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	wfɛ ~ ufɛ	: he ended
3rd fem.	wfɛ:t ~ ufɛ:t	
2nd c.	wfi:t ~ ufi:t	
1st c.	wfi:t ~ ufi:t	

Plural

3rd c.	wfɛ:w ~ ufɛ:w
2nd c.	wfi:tu ~ ufi:tu
1st c.	wfi:nɛ ~ ufi:nɛ

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	yu:fɛ
3rd fem.	tu:fɛ
2nd c.	tu:fɛ
1st c.	nu:fɛ

Plural

3rd c.	yufɛ:w
2nd c.	tufɛ:w
1st c.	nufɛ:w

Imperative

Singular

u:fɛ

Plural

ufɛ:w ~ wfɛ:w

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active	wɛ:fi	wɛ:fyɛ	wɛfi:n
Passive	mu:fi	mu:fiy:ɛ	mufiyi:n ~ mufi:n

¹¹ With doubly weak-verbs are meant verbs with C₁wy+C₃wy.

1.1.6.1 Perfect

/wfa/ is the only doubly weak verb occurring in the dialect of Sūsa. The stem vowel is lengthened when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant.

[wfa:t] ~ [ufa:t]

[wfa:w] ~ [ufa:w]

[wfa] ~ [ufa]

[w] and [u] alternate with each other initially.

1.1.6.2 Imperfect

In the singular, verb stems get the prefix /Cu:/, /w/ is realized as [u], i.e. the morphophonemic /Cuw/ corresponds phonetically to [Cu:]. In the plural the vowel of the prefix is short while the characteristic vowel is long, i.e. /yu:fa/ + {u} → [yufa:w].

1.1.6.3 Imperative

The stem in the imperative is identical with the imperfect stem.

[yu:fa]

[u:fa]

[yufa:w]

[ufa:w] ~ [wfa:w]

1.1.6.4 Participles

In the plural, the passive participle has two alternant patterns, i.e. muCi:yi:n and muCi:n.

1.1.7 The verbs /ʒa/ and /ra/

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc. ʒɛ : he came ra : he saw

3rd fem. ʒɛ:t ra:t

2nd c. ʒi:t rü:t

1st c. ʒi:t rü:t

Plural

3rd c. ʒɛ:w ra:w

2nd c. ʒi:tu rü:tu

1st c. ʒi:nɛ rü:nɛ

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc. yʒi ~ iʒi yra ~ ira

3rd fem.	t3i	tra
2nd c.	t3i	tra
1st c.	n3i	nra
Plural		
3rd c.	y3i:yu ~ i3i:yu	yra:w ~ ira:w
2nd c.	t3i:yu	tra:w
1st c.	n3i:yu	nra:w

Imperative

Singular	i:3E	ra
Plural	y3E:w ~ i3E:w	ra:w

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	3E:y	----	3E:y:E	----	3Eyi:n	----
Passive	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Weak verbs of /3a/ and /ra/ type are very rare in all Arabic dialects, e.g. the vernacular of Sūsa has only the two above-mentioned verbs. /3a/ and /ra/ correspond to the Classical forms /d3a:ʔa/ and /raʔa:/ respectively, i.e. the older /ʔ/ has disappeared and the verbs have one strong radical only.

1.1.7.1 Perfect

The characteristic vowel is, as in the other verbs, lengthened when followed by suffixes beginning with consonants.

[3i:t]	[3E:w]	[3i:nE]
[rū:t]	[rā:w]	[rū:nE]

1.1.7.2 Imperfect

The initial [y] alternates with [i].

[y3i] ~ [i3i]
[yra:w] ~ [ira:w]

In the imperfect, the verbs /3a/ and /ra/ have the same stem vowel as in Classical Arabic.

Classical Arabic

/yad3i:ʔu/
/tad3i:ʔu/
/ʔad3i:ʔu/
/yad3i:ʔu:na/
/tad3i:ʔu:na/

Sūsa

/y3i/
/t3i/
/n3i/
/y3i:yu/
/t3i:yu/

/nadʒi:ʔu/	/nʒi:yu/
/yara:/	/yra/
/tara:/	/tra/
/ʔara:/	/nra/
/yaraɰna/	/yra:w/
/taraɰna/	/tra:w/
/nara:/	/nra:w/

1.1.7.3 Imperative

The imperative stem of the verb /ra/ is identical with the imperfect stem while the stem of the verb /ʒa/ has a different pattern formed in analogy with initial-weak verbs.

/y ^h ra/	/ra/
/y ^h ra:w/	/ra:w/
/y ^h ʒi/	/i:ʒa/
/y ^h ʒi:yu/	/y ^h ʒɛ:w/

1.1.7.4 Participles

The verb /3a/ can form an active participle¹² whereas /ra/ can neither form an active nor a passive participle.

1.1.8 Verbs corresponding to the Classical Arabic 'hamzated' verbs

1.1.8.1 Classical initial /ʔ/ verbs

The verbs corresponding to the Classical /ʔakala/ 'to eat' and /ʔaxaʃa/ 'to take' lack /ʔ/ in the dialect of Sūsa.

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	xǝɛ	: he took	kɭɛ	: he ate
3rd fem.	xǝɛ:t		kɭɛ:t	
2nd c.	xǝi:t		kɭi:t	
1st c.	xǝi:t		kɭi:t	

Plural

3rd c. xǝɛ:w kɭɛ:w

¹² The active participle of the verb /ʒa/ has the form /ma:ʒi/ in the dialects of Cherchell, Tlemcen and Alger (Jewish). Cf. GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherchell*, p. 55. The Beduin dialects have as the dialect of Sūsa the form /ʒai/, see W. MARÇAIS, *Le dialecte arabe des Ūlād Brāhīm de Saïda*, p. 88, and D. COHEN, *Le dialecte arabe Ḥassānīya de Mauritanie*, p. 110.

2nd c.	xǝi:tu	kli:tu
1st c.	xǝi:nɛ	kli:nɛ

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	yɛ:xo	yɛ:kuɭ
3rd fem.	tɛ:xo	tɛ:kuɭ
2nd c.	tɛ:xo	tɛ:kuɭ
1st c.	nɛ:xo	nɛ:kuɭ

Plural

3rd c.	yɛ:xǝu	yɛ:kɭu
2nd c.	tɛ:xǝu	tɛ:kɭu
1st c.	nɛ:xǝu	nɛ:kɭu

Imperative

Singular	xo:ǝ	ku:l
Plural	xo:ǝu	ku:ɭu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	wɛ:xüǝ	wɛ:kiɭ	wɛ:xǝɛ	wɛ:kɭɛ	wɛ:xǝi:n	wɛ:kli:n
Passive	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Perfect

The verbs /xǝa/ and /kɭa/ function as final weak verbs, i.e. the vowel is lengthened when followed by suffixes beginning with consonants.

Imperfect

In analogy with the imperfect of initial-weak verbs the vowel of the prefixes of both verbs is long.¹³ In the singular the final consonant is elided in the verb /xǝa/.

Imperative

The imperative stem has, as in medial weak verbs, the pattern Cu:C in the singular and Cu:Cu in the plural.

¹³ The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Cherchell, see GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherchell*, p. 55.

Participles

Both verbs have an active participle only; inflected for gender and number.

1.1.8.2 Classical medial /ʔ/ verbs

With the exception of the verb /*raʔa:*/ 'to see' all Classical Arabic medial /ʔ/ verbs correspond to medial /h/¹⁴ or medial weak verbs in the dialect of Sūsa.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Sūsa</u>
/saʔala/	: he asked	[shɛl]
/zaʔara/	: he roared	[zhir]
/raʔafa/	: he pitied	[ra:f]
/kaʔiba/	: he was dejected	[kɛ:b]

1.1.8.3 Classical final /ʔ/ verbs

With the exception of the verb /*dʒa:ʔa*/ 'to come' all Classical final /ʔ/ verbs correspond to final weak verbs in the dialect of Sūsa.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Sūsa</u>
/qaraʔa/	: he read	[qra]
/ladʒaʔa/	: he took refuge	[lɜɛ]
/badaʔa/	: he began	[bdɛ]
/malaʔa/	: he filled	[mlɛ]

1.1.9 The quadriradical verb

The quadriradical verbs are, in the dialect of Sūsa divided into the four following groups:

Form I

Verb stems with four different radicals: C₁aC₂C₃VC₄

[ħatruf]	: he pinched
[zarwit]	: he hit someone with a cane
[qartūs]	: he packed
[xa]wið]	: he made a disturbance
[serbɛ]	: he served (food)
[xarbiʃ]	: he scratched

¹⁴ In Cherchell the /ʔ/ is preserved in the verb /*sʔəl*/ 'to ask', see GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherchell*, p. 14.

[ɣarbil]	: he bolted
[ʃaqlib]	: he cheated

Verbs with a reduplicated stem: C₁aC₂C₁aC₂

[bɛḥbɛḥ]	: he did something good for someone
[rabrab]	: he blasphemed
[naqnaq]	: he croaked, he wanted good food
[wɛlwɛl]	: he lamented
[daqdaq]	: he knocked
[ʃaqʃaq]	: he rattled
[waʁwaʁ]	: he howled
[lɛklɛk]	: he nagged

Verbs where C₁ and C₃ are identical: C₁aC₂C₁VC₃

[kɛrkib]	: he rolled
[ʃamsür]	: he acted as a broker
[dɛrdɛʁ]	: he shoved
[sɛrsib]	: he went down slowly
[ʃaʃib]	: he disturbed
[qaʃqül]	: he brought about a disgrace
[bɛrbiʃ]	: he poked
[farfitɔ]	: he trembled

Form II of quadriradicals but never with equivalence in Form I

Verbs with the reflexive prefix {t} are always intransitive if not reflexive.

[tsɛlhɛb]	: he came quickly
[tzaʁbin]	: he flirted
[tʃafʃaq]	: he became old
[tkɛskis]	: he was illtreated
[tnɛfnɛf]	: he became well off
[tnaʃwir]	: he got some fresh air
[tqaʃwir]	: he used small clothes
[tbandiɔ]	: he lived a life of luxury

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	daqdaq	: he knocked	ħatrüf	: he pinched
3rd fem.	daqɔdqüt		ħatɔrfit	
2nd c.	daqdaqɔ		ħatrüft	

1st c.	daqdaqt	ḥatrüft
Plural		
3rd c.	daqədqo	ḥatərfu
2nd c.	daqdaqtə	ḥatrüftu
1st c.	daqdaqnɛ	ḥatrüfnɛ

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	ydaqdaq ~ idaqdaq	yḥatrüf ~ iḥatrüf
3rd fem.	id:aqdaq	tḥatrüf
2nd c.	id:aqdaq	tḥatrüf
1st c.	ndaqdaq	nḥatrüf

Plural

3rd c.	ydaqədqo ~ idaqədqo	yḥatərfu ~ iḥatərfu
2nd c.	id:aqədqo	tḥatərfu
1st c.	ndaqədqo	nḥatərfu

Imperative

Singular	daqdaq	ḥatrüf
Plural	daqədqo	ḥatərfu

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active	daqdɛ:q ḥatrɛ:f	daqdɛ:qɑ ḥatra:fɛ	daqdaqü:n ḥatrafi:n
Passive	mdaqdaq mḥatrüf	mdaqədqɑ mḥatirfɛ	mdaqədqu:n mḥatirfi:n

1.1.9.1 Perfect

In the dialect of Sūsa, in all quadriradical verbs, V₁ is always /a/ while V₂ can be /a/, /i/ or /u/.

[rabrab]	: he blasphemed
[ʃaqʃaq]	: he rattled
[xalwið]	: he made a disturbance
[bɛrbiʃ]	: he poked
[waʃuʃu]	: they whispered

Only verbs with C₃w have /u/ in 3rd p. sing. fem. and 3rd p. pl.

[waʃuʃit]	: she whispered
[tnaʃuru]	: they got some fresh air

An epenthetic vowel is inserted where three-consonant clusters are not allowed.

[rabɔrbu]	: they blasphemed
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[ʃaqəʃqo]	: they rattled
[bɛsəbsu]	: they behaved nicely
[bɛrbʃu]	: they poked
[dɛrdʰu]	: they shoved

1.1.9.2 Imperfect

With the exception of 3rd p. fem. all the verbs in the singular get the same stem vowels as in the perfect.

[ʃayʃib]	: he disturbed	[yʃayʃib] ~ [iʃayʃib]
[bɛrbiʃt]	: you poked	[tbɛrbiʃ]
[daqdaqt]	: I knocked	[ndaqdaq]

In the plural, only the 3rd p. gets the same stem as in the perfect.

[daqədqo]	: they knocked	[ydaqədqo] ~ [idaqədqo]
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1.1.9.3 Imperative

In the imperative the stem is always the same as in the imperfect.

[ydaqdaq] ~ [idaqdaq]	: he is knocking	[daqdaq]
[yɛrbiʃ] ~ [ibɛrbiʃ]	: he is poking	[bɛrbiʃ]
[yitzəʔbnu]	: they are flirting	[tzaʔbnu]
[yfarfto] ~ [ifarfto]	: they are trembling	[farfto]

1.1.9.4 Participles

The active participle of this type of verbs has the pattern CaCCa:C in masc. and CaCCa:Ca in fem.

In the plural, there are two alternating patterns, i.e. CaCCaCi:n and CaCCa:Ci:n.

[ħatrɛ:f]	: pinching
[daqdɛ:q]	: knocking
[ħatrafi:n] ~ [ħatra:fi:n]	: pinching (pl.)
[daqdaqü:n] ~ [daqda:qü:n]	: knocking (pl.)

The passive participle has the pattern mCaCCVC in the masculine, and the pattern mCaCCCa, mCVCCCa, mitCaCCCa and mitCaCəCCa in the feminine.

[mwɛlwɛl]	: lamented
[mʃaqəʃqa]	: rattled
[mɛrbʃɛ]	: poked
[mitqarfta]	: frozen
[mitzaʔbnɛ]	: flirted

In the plural there are four patterns, i.e. mCaCəCCi:n, mCaCCCi:n, mitCaCəCCi:n and mitCaCCCi:n.

[mʃaqəʃqü:n]	[mɛrbʃi:n]	[mitzaʔbni:n]	[mitqarftü:n]
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1.2 DERIVED THEMES

1.2.1 Form II

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	rek:ɛb	: he set up	wɛk:ɛl	: he gave to eat
3rd fem.	rek:bit		wɛk:lit	
2nd c.	rek:ɛbt		wɛk:ɛlt	
1st c.	rek:ɛbt		wɛk:ɛlt	

Plural

3rd c.	rek:bu		wɛk:lu	
2nd c.	rek:ɛbtu		wɛk:ɛltu	
1st c.	rek:ɛbnɛ		wɛk:ɛlnɛ	

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	yrɛk:ib ~ irɛk:ib	iwɛk:il
3rd fem.	trɛk:ib	twɛk:il
2nd c.	trɛk:ib	twɛk:il
1st c.	nrɛk:ib	nwɛk:il

Plural

3rd c.	yrɛk:bu ~ irɛk:bu	iwɛk:lu
2nd c.	trɛk:bu	twɛk:lu
1st c.	nrɛk:bu	nwɛk:lu

Imperative

Singular	rek:ib	wɛk:il
Plural	rek:bu	wɛk:lu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	mwɛk:il	mɾɛk:ib	mwɛk:lɛ	mɾɛk:bɛ	mɾɛk:bi:n	mwɛk:li:n
Passive	mwɛk:ɛl	mɾɛk:ɛb	mwɛk:lɛ	mɾɛk:bɛ	mɾɛk:bi:n	mwɛk:li:n

1.2.1.1 Perfect

With the exception of medial /y/ verbs V₁ and V₂ are always /a/.

[ʒar:ab]	: he made it difficult
[naq:aʒ]	: he reduced
[kɛl:ɛm]	: he spoke to

[kɛf:ɛr]	: he made someone blaspheme
[zɛy:it]	: he greased
[nɛy:ik]	: he prostituted himself

1.2.1.2 Imperfect

In the singular V_2 is always /i/. The geminated verbs are shortened¹⁵ in the plural, but due to the quality of the stem vowel the morphological opposition between Form I and II imperf. (and imp.) is preserved.

[yɬam:u] ~ [ixam:u]	: they think
[txam:u]	: you (pl.) think
[nkɛb:u]	: we twist
[tkɛb:ib]	: you twist

1.2.1.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the verb stem is always the same as in the imperfect.

[yɬaʔ:üb]	[iɬaʔ:üb]	: he makes it difficult	[ɬaʔ:üb]
[ynaq:ɬo]	[inaq:ɬo]	: they reduce	[naq:ɬo]

1.2.1.4 Participles

In the singular masc., the morphological opposition between active and passive participles is preserved but is neutralized in the feminine and the plural.

Classical Arabic

Sūsa

Active

/murak:ib/	: composing	[mrak:ib]
/munaq:ig/	: reducing	[mnaq:üs]

Passive

/murak:ab/	: composed	[mrɛk:ɛb]
/munaq:as/	: reduced	[mnaq:as]

1.2.2 Form III

	<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Imperfect</u>
Singular			
3rd masc.	ʔa:rük	: he quarreled	yʔa:rük iʔa:rük
3rd fem.	ʔa:rkit		tʔa:rük

¹⁵ The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Tlemcen but in the dialect of Cherchell C_3 is preserved, see W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen, p. 73, and GRAND-HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 58.

2nd c.	ʔa:rükt	tʔa:rük
1st c.	ʔa:rükt	nʔa:rük
Plural		
3rd c.	ʔa:rku	yʔa:rku ~ iʔa:rku
2nd c.	ʔa:rüktu	tʔa:rku
1st c.	ʔa:rükne	nʔa:rku

Imperative

Singular	ʔa:rük
Plural	ʔa:rku

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active }	mʔa:rük	mʔa:rke	mʔa:rki:n
Passive }			

1.2.2.1 Perfect

V₁ and V₂ are always /a/ and /i/ respectively.

1.2.2.2 Imperfect

In the imperfect, the stem is always identical with the perfective stem.

[qɑ:bi]	: he met	[tqɑ:bi]
[ʔa:rku]	: they quarreled	[yʔa:rku] ~ [iʔa:rku]

1.2.2.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the stem is always the same as in the imperfect.

/yħɑ:rib/	: he is making war	[ħɑ:rüb]
/yʔa:rku/	: they are quar- reling	[ʔa:rku]

1.2.2.4 Participles

There is only one participle which can be both passive and active, i.e. the same stem in both morphological categories.

1.2.3 Form IV

Verbs morphologically corresponding to the Classical Arabic *ʔafʔala* do not occur in the dialect of Sūsa.¹⁶ Its functions have passed over to Form II.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Sūsa</u>
/ʔadħala/	: he made someone come in	[dax:al]

¹⁶ The verbal form *ʔafʔal* is absent in all North African dialects.

1.2.4 Form V

	<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Imperfect</u>
Singular			
3rd masc.	tkɛs:ɛr	: he (it) got broken	yitkɛs:ir
3rd fem.	tkɛs:rüt		titkɛs:ir
2nd c.	tkɛs:ɛrt		titkɛs:ir
1st c.	tkɛs:ɛrt		nitkɛs:ir
Plural			
3rd c.	tkɛs:ro		yitkɛs:ro
2nd c.	tkɛs:ɛrtu		titkɛs:ro
1st c.	tkɛs:ɛrnɛ		nitkɛs:ro

Imperative

Singular	tkɛs:ir ~ itkɛs:ir
Plural	tkɛs:ro ~ itkɛs:ro

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active }	mitkɛs:ir	mitkɛs:ra	mitkɛs:rü:n
Passive }			

1.2.4.1 Perfect

In final strong verbs both stem vowels are /a/, the latter of which is dropped when the syllable is opened: [tkɛs:ɛr] + {-u} --> [tkɛs:ro].

[tkɛs:ɛr] [tkɛs:rüt] [tkɛs:ro]

In most idiolects, the reflexive morpheme {t} ¹⁷ does not assimilate to the following consonant. In order to maintain the morphological distinction, the reflexive morpheme is, when followed by a dental stop, preceded by an epenthetic vowel, i.e. the consonants are separated from each other by the syllable limit.

[tʂar:ab]	: he became difficult
[itdar:aq]	: he hid himself
[ittaw:aʔ]	: he became a volunteer

¹⁷ The prefix /t/ in the dialect of Cherchell, as in the dialect of Sūsa, does not assimilate to the first consonant of the root as it is the case in the dialect of Djidjelli and Bou-Saâda, see GRAND-HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 60.

1.2.4.2 Imperfect

The second stem vowel is /a/ in the older generation's idiolects and /i/ in most idiolects of the younger generation. The imperfect prefix has always the vowel /i/.

1.2.4.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the syllabic structure of the stems as well as their vocalism is the same as in the imperfect. Women and especially men in the older generation have the epenthetic vowel /i/ before the reflexive morpheme when followed by a dental stop only while all speakers in the younger generation use the epenthetic vowel in all verbs in the imperative.

1.2.4.4 Participles

In the participles there is no distinction between the active and the passive patterns.

<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Passive participle</u>	<u>Active participle</u>
[tkəs:ɛr]	: it was broken	[mitkəs:ir]	[mitkəs:ir]
[tnɛk:ɛr]	: he disguised	[mitnɛk:ir]	[mitnɛk:ir]

1.2.5 Form VI

	<u>Perfect</u>		<u>Imperfect</u>
Singular			
3rd masc.	tqɑ:bil	: he met	yitqɑ:bil
3rd fem.	tqɑ:blit		titqɑ:bil
2nd c.	tqɑ:bilt		titqɑ:bil
1st c.	tqɑ:bilt		nitqɑ:bil
Plural			
3rd c.	tqɑ:blu		yitqɑ:blu
2nd c.	tqɑ:biltu		titqɑ:blu
1st c.	tqɑ:bilt		nitqɑ:blu

Imperative

Singular	tqɑ:bil ~ itqɑ:bil
Plural	tqɑ:blu ~ itqɑ:blu

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active }	mitqɑ:bil	mitqɑ:blɛ	mitqɑ:bli:n
Passive }			

1.2.5.1 Perfect

The prefix /t/ here, as in the fifth form, does not undergo any phonological change. /i/ is prefixed when /t/ precedes a dental stop.

1.2.5.2 Imperfect

The imperfect prefix has always the vowel /i/.

1.2.5.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the verb stem is always identical with the imperfective stem. The epenthetic vowel occurs before the reflexive morpheme when followed by a dental stop.

[yitdɛ:wnu]	: they become enemies	[itdɛ:wnu]
[yitt̪a:wiʔ]	: he agrees	[itt̪a:wiʔ]
[yitʔa:wnu]	: they cooperate	[tʔa:wnu]

1.2.5.4 Participles

Both the active and the passive participles have the pattern mitCa:CiC in common.

1.2.6 Form VII

Verbs morphologically corresponding to the Classical Arabic *ʔinfāʔala* do not occur in the dialect of Sūsa. In the corresponding reflexive-passive function, the dialect of Sūsa uses the pattern *tifʔal*, i.e. the reflexive morpheme {t} plus Form I.

Classical Arabic		Sūsa
/ʔinqasama/	: it fell apart	[tiq̣sam]
/ʔinh̩al:a/	: it was dissolved	[t̪h̩al:]

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	tiq̣sam	: he fell apart	t̪h̩al:	: it was opened	tug̣id:	: he existed
-----------	---------	-----------------	---------	-----------------	---------	--------------

3rd fem.	tq̣asmit		t̪h̩al:it		twiʒdit	
----------	----------	--	-----------	--	---------	--

2nd c.	tiq̣samt		t̪h̩al:i:t		tug̣it:	
--------	----------	--	------------	--	---------	--

1st c.	tiq̣samt		t̪h̩al:i:t		tug̣it:	
--------	----------	--	------------	--	---------	--

Plural

3rd c.	tq̣asmu		t̪h̩al:u		twiʒdu	
--------	---------	--	----------	--	--------	--

2nd c.	tiq̣samtu		t̪h̩al:i:tu		tug̣it:u	
--------	-----------	--	-------------	--	----------	--

1st c.	tiq̣samne		t̪h̩al:i:ne		tug̣idne	
--------	-----------	--	-------------	--	----------	--

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	yitəqʃam	yithal:	yituzid
3rd fem.	titəqʃam	tithal:	tituzid
2nd c.	titəqʃam	tithal:	tituzid
1st c.	nitəqʃam	nithal:	nituzid

Plural

3rd c.	yitqəʃmu	yithal:u	yitwizdu
2nd c.	titqəʃmu	tithal:u	titwizdu
1st c.	nitqəʃmu	nithal:u	nitwizdu

Imperative

Singular	itəqʃam	ithal:	ituzid:
Plural	itqəʃmu	ithal:u	itwizdu

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active	-----	-----	-----
Passive	-----	-----	-----

1.2.6.1 Perfect

In the verb /*tuʒid*/, the weak radical /w/ is realized as /u/ in all persons with the exception of /*twiʒdit*/ and /*twiʒdu*/, i.e. in a closed syllable.

1.2.6.2 Imperfect

In the singular an epenthetic vowel is inserted when three-consonant clusters are not allowed.

1.2.6.3 Imperative

In the imperative, the syllabic structure of the stems as well as their vocalism is the same as in the imperfect.

1.2.6.4 Participles

There are no participles formed from this type of verb.

1.2.7 Form VIII

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	nthar:	: he committed suicide	htɛ:ʒ	: he needed
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3rd fem.	ntahrüt	ḥtɛ:ʒit
2nd c.	nthart	ḥtiʒt
1st c.	nthart	ḥtiʒt
Plural		
3rd c.	ntahro	ḥtɛ:ʒu
2nd c.	nthartu	ḥtiʒtu
1st c.	ntharne	ḥtiʒnɛ

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	yinthar:	yahtɛ:ʒ
3rd fem.	tinthar:	tahtɛ:ʒ
2nd c.	tinthar	tahtɛ:ʒ
1st c.	ninthar	nahtɛ:ʒ

Plural

3rd c.	yintahro	yahtɛ:ʒu
2nd c.	tintahro	tahrɛ:ʒu
1st c.	nintahro	nahtɛ:ʒu

Imperative

Singular	nthar	ḥtɛ:ʒ
Plural	ntahro	ḥtɛ:ʒu

Participles

	masc.	fem.	pl.
Active }	minthar	muhtɛ:ʒ	mintahra muhtɛ:ʒɛ mintahrü:n muhtɛ:ʒi:n
Passive }			

There are several variants of Form VIII in Classical Arabic.

Classical Arabic

Sūsa

/ʔizdahama/	: it became crowded	[zha:mit]
/ʔiḥta:ra/	: he became confused	[ħa:r]
/ʔiʃtaʒala/	: he became busy	[tiʃʒal]
/ʔit:agala/	: he contacted	[twaʒ:ül]
/ʔiʃtara:/	: he bought	[ʃrɛ]

Verbs of the type /ʔiʃtara:/ in Classical Arabic correspond usually to verbs with the form *fʔa* in the dialect of Sūsa.

/ʔiʃtara:/	: he bought	[ʃrɛ]
/ʔiʃtaka:/	: he complained	[ʃkɛ]
/ʔiktara:/	: he hired	[krɛ]

1.2.7.1 Perfect

The stem vowel is /a/ as in Classical Arabic.

1.2.7.2 Imperfect

In strong verbs the vowel of the prefix is /i/ and the stem vowel is /a/. In the verb /ḥta:ʒ/ the imperfect prefix has the same vowel as the verb stem. However, in the idiolects of the younger generation /a/ is replaced by /i/, e.g. /yiḥta:ʒ/ and /tiḥ̣ta:ʒ/.

1.2.7.3 Imperative

The imperative stem is always the same as in the imperfect.

1.2.7.4 Participles

In the participles there is no distinction between the active and passive patterns. The verbs of the type /ntḥar/ have the pattern mintCaC, while the verbs of the type /ḥta:ʒ/ have the pattern muCta:C.

1.2.8 Form IX

The form *ʔifʔal:a* in Classical Arabic has no formal counterpart in the dialect of Sūsa but it is related semantically to the pattern *fʔa:l*.

Classical Arabic

Sūsa

/ʔiḥmar:a/	: he became red	[ḥma:r]
/ʔiʔwadʒ:a/	: he became crooked	[ʔwɛ:ʒ]

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	ḥma:r	: he became red	zyɛ:n	: he became beautiful
3rd fem.	ḥma:rüt		zyɛ:nit	
2nd c.	ḥmurt		zyint	
1st c.	ḥmurt		zyint	

Plural

3rd c.	ḥma:ro	zyɛ:nu
2nd c.	ḥmurtu	zyintu
1st c.	ḥmurne	zyin:ɛ

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	yiḥma:r	yizye:n
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3rd fem.	tiḥma:r	tizye:n
2nd c.	tiḥma:r	tizye:n
1st c.	niḥma:r	nizye:n
Plural		
3rd c.	yihma:ro	yizye:nu
2nd c.	tiḥma:ro	tizye:nu
1st c.	niḥma:ro	nizye:nu

Imperative

Singular	ḥma:r ~ ihma:r	zye:n ~ izye:n
Plural	ḥma:ro ~ ihma:ro	zye:nu ~ izye:nu

Participles

	masc.		fem.		pl.	
Active	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Passive	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

1.2.8.1 Perfect

In 2nd and 1st p. sing. and pl., the vowel after C₂ is /u/ or /i/ depending on the consonantal environment, i.e. the vowel /u/ occurs when the stem includes an emphatic consonant, a pharyngal, an uvular or /r/.

[ṣfurt]	: I became pale
[zroqnɛ]	: we became blue
[xɔrtu]	: you (pl.) became green
[zyint]	: I became beautiful
[ɔbiltu]	: you (pl.) became pale
[smin:ɛ]	: we became fat

1.2.8.2 Imperfect

The imperfect prefix has the vowel /i/ while the stem vowel is /a/.

1.2.8.3 Imperative

The imperative stem is identical with the imperfect stem.

1.2.9 Form X

Perfect

Singular

3rd masc.	[stɛḥsɛn] : he married	[stɔa:r] : he got ashamed	[stqal:] he became independent
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3rd fem.	stɛħəsnit	stɾa:rüt	stqal:it
2nd c.	stɛħsent	stɾürt	stqal:i:t
1st c.	stɛħsent	stɾürt	stqal:i:t
Plural			
3rd c.	stɛħəsnu	stɾa:ro	stqal:u
2nd c.	stɛħsentu	stɾürtu	stqal:i:tu
1st c.	stɛħsen:ɛ	stɾürnɛ	stqal:i:nɛ

Imperfect

Singular

3rd masc.	yistɛħsin	yistɾa:r	yistqal:
3rd fem.	tistɛħsin	tistɾa:r	tistqal:
2nd c.	tistɛħsin	tistɾa:r	tistqal:
1st c.	nistɛħsin	nistɾa:r	nistqal:

Plural

3rd c.	yistɛħəsnu	yistɾa:ro	yistqal:u
2nd c.	tistɛħəsnu	tistɾa:ro	tistqal:u
1st c.	nistɛħəsnu	nistɾa:ro	nistqal:u

Imperative

Singular	stɛħsin	stɾa:r	stqal:
Plural	stɛħəsnu	stɾa:ro	stqal:u

Participles

	masc.	fem.
Active }	mistɛħsin mistɾa:r mistqal: mistɛħsɛnɛ mistɾa:ra mistqal:ɛ	
Passive }		
	pl.	
Active }	mistɛħsni:n mistɾa:rü:n mistqal:i:n	
Passive }		

Verbs of Form X are often used by women and speakers of the older generation when speaking euphemistically, i.e. the male speakers of the younger generation use usually other expressions to denote the same meaning.

women and men of the older generation

young men

[stɛfɾal]	: he raped	[nɛ:k bis:i:f]
[stɾal:]	: he exploited (some-one)	[tɾɪaɾ:]

1.2.9.1 Perfect

The prefix /st/ is followed by /a/ when the verb stem has an initial consonant cluster.

[stɛbnɛ] : he adopted (a child)

[stɛhʂɛn] : he got married

but

[stɛa:r] : he got ashamed

Medially, an epenthetic vowel is inserted when three-consonant clusters are not allowed.

[stɛhʂɛnu] : they got married

but

[stɛrʒlu] : they behaved kindly

In the verb /stɛwla/ 'he confiscated', the diphthong /aw/ is for morphological reasons preserved both in the perfect and in the imperfect.

[stɛwli:t] : I confiscated

[stɛwle:t] : she confiscated

[stɛwli:nɛ] : we confiscated

[nistɛwle] : I confiscate

[tistɛwle] : she confiscates

[yistɛwle:w] : they confiscate

1.2.9.2 Imperfect

The imperfect prefix always has the vowel /i/.

1.2.9.3 Imperative

In the imperative the stem is as in the imperfect.

1.2.9.4 Participles

Both the active and the passive participles have one pattern in common.

The dialect of Sūsa as well as Classical Arabic has three types of nouns, i.e. participles, verbal nouns and substantives. Participles and substantives can be regarded as pure substantives or as adjectival substantives.

2.1 PARTICIPLES

Participles are subdivided into two groups: verbal and nominal. The participles formed from the derived themes are most usually verbal.

2.1.1 Verbal participles

2.1.1.1 Active participles

The verbal active participle occurs as a verbal attribute and denotes a present continuous action or a resultative aspect but can also occur as a substantive.

[ir:a:ʒil qa:til martu]	: the man is killing his wife
[id:a:r bɛ:yih:a]	: he had (already) sold the house
[ɐlqa:til mɛ:t]	: the murderer died

However, any active participle can also denote continuous actions when preceded by /ka:n/ or /ra/.

[kunt xa:ʒür]	: I was losing
[ra:k ra:bih]	: you are winning

2.1.1.2 Passive participles

The verbal passive participle occurs only as a verbal attribute.

[da:r mɛdhu:nɛ]	: a painted house
[hü:t ma[qo:q]	: a cracked wall

2.1.2 Nominal participles

2.1.2.1 Active participles

The nominal active participle does never occur as a verbal attribute.

[ha:ʒib]	: caretaker
[nɛ:yib]	: representant
[tɛ:ʒir]	: merchant

2.1.2.2 Passive participles

The nominal passive participle can both occur as a substantive and an

adjective.

[mektu:b]	: destiny, written
[mahbu:b]	: gold coins (coll.), loved
[maʔʒu:n]	: jam, squeezed together

2.1.3 Derived participles

2.1.3.1 Form II

There are two participles: active and passive.

[mrək:ib]	: composing
[mʔal:im]	: learning, teaching
[mrək:ɛb]	: composed
[mʔal:ɛm]	: learnt

2.1.3.2 Form III

Both active and passive participles have the same pattern.

[mʔa:nid]	: obstinating, obstinate
[mʔa:ʃir]	: living together with, having lived together with

2.1.3.3 Form V

There is no morphological distinction between active and passive participles.

[mitkɛ:sir]	: breaking, broken
[mitkɛb:sir]	: acting as a snob, being a snob
[mitnek:sir]	: disguising, disguised

2.1.3.4 Form VI

There are two participles having the same pattern: an active and a passive.

[mitnɛ:sib]	: to be related to one another, interrelating
[mitha:sib]	: settling a mutual account, having settled a mutual account

2.1.3.5 Form VIII

The active and the passive participle have the same pattern.

[mintahra]	: committing suicide, having committed suicide
[muhtɛ:ʒɛ]	: having need, having been in need

2.1.3.6 Form X

Both active and passive participles have one pattern in common.

[mistɛhsin]	: deeming, married
[mistɣal:]	: exploiting, exploited
[mistʔa:r]	: becoming ashamed, ashamed

2.2 VERBAL NOUNS

Verbal nouns or the so-called 'maṣdar' differ from substantives and participles in having no plural. Verbal nouns denote an action and function as infinitives.

2.2.1 Triradical verbal nouns

2.2.1.1 Pattern CVCC(a)

The stem vowel is /a/, /i/ or /u/.

[ḡrab]	: he hit	[ḡarb]	: hitting
[nhib]	: he swindled	[nɛhb]	: swindling
[nʃar]	: he spread	[naʃr]	: spreading
[ksib]	: he gained	[kɛsb]	: gaining
[ʔlim]	: he knew	[ʔilm]	: knowing
[ḡsid]	: he envied	[ḡusd]	: envying
[kfar]	: he blasphemed	[kufr]	: blaspheming
[ʃʔob]	: he became diffi- cult	[ʃʔob]	: difficulty

Verbal nouns with this pattern are very usual in all North African dialects.

The form *fiʔla* is pure dialectal and occurs rarely in the dialect of Sūsa.

[qʃam]	: he shared, he divided	[qūʃma]	: sharing, dividing
[xʃaf]	: he snatched	[xūtʃa]	: snatching

Verbal nouns having the pattern CCVC occur rarely in any Tunisian dialect.

In the dialect of Sūsa the pattern CCVC alternates with the pattern CVCC.

[sɛ:fiʔ]	: he traveled	[sfer] ~ [sɛfr]	: travelling
[ḡmiʔ]	: he carried	[hmiɛ] ~ [ḡami]	: carrying

2.2.1.2 Pattern CCV:C

The stem vowel is /a:/, /u:/ or /i:/. Verbal nouns having /u:/ or /i:/ in Classical Arabic have usually the same vowel when occurring in the dialect of Sūsa.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Sūsa</u>	
/hubʔ/	: being foolish	[hbil]	: he became foolish [hbɛ:l]
/sama:ḡ/	: forgiving	[sɛ:miḡ]	: he forgave [smɛ:h]
/quʔu:d/	: sitting	[qʔad]	: he sat down [qʔa:d] ~ [qʔo:d]
/riku:b/	: riding	[rkib]	: he rode [rku:b]
/huru:b/	: running away	[hrab]	: he ran away [hro:b]

/ʃaṭḥ/	: dancing	[ʃṭaḥ]	: he danced	[ʃṭü:h]
/raʃ/	: trembling	[rəʃ]	: he trembled	[rəü:ʃ]
/nabi:h/	: barking	[nbaḥ]	: he barked	[nbi:h]

The realization of /w/ as /u/ makes the pattern CCu:C alternate with uCu:C.

/wəḡu:l/	: arrival	[wṡül]~[uṡül]	: he arrived	[wṡo:l]~[uṡo:l]
/wəqu:f/	: standing up	[wqüf]~[uqüf]	: he stood up	[wqo:f]~[uqo:f]

Verbal nouns with the pattern *fʳa:la* occur rarely in any Tunisian dialect, e.g. the dialect of Sūsa has only two instances of the pattern.

[ʳaḡ]	: he invited	[ʳa:ḡa]	: inviting
[lṭof]	: he acted friendly	[lṭa:fə]	: acting friendly

The pattern *fʳu:la* denotes most usually a physical or a chemical change.

[ḥma:r]	: he turned red	[ḥmu:ra]	: turning red
[brid]	: he felt cold	[bru:də]	: feeling cold

There are no verbal nouns having the pattern *fʳi:la* in the dialect of Sūsa.¹

2.2.1.3 Patterns CVCCa:n and CCu:Ciy:a

Verbal nouns with these patterns are very usual in the dialect of Sūsa.

CaCCa:n

Due to the realization of /wa/ as [u] the medial-weak verbs get the pattern CuCa:n.

[qlib]	: he turned	[qalbe:n]	: turning
[ḥfir]	: he dug	[ḥafra:n]	: digging
[ṡaṭ]	: he flogged	[ṡaḥṭa:n]	: flogging
[ṡwe]	: he grilled	[ṡuyε:n]	: grilling
[swe]	: he arranged	[suyε:n]	: arranging
[bke]	: he wept	[bekye:n]	: weeping
[ḥat:]	: he put	[ḥat:a:n]	: putting
[be:l]	: he wetted	[be:lε:n]	: wetting
[qa:l]	: he said	[qolε:n]	: saying
[be:l]	: he urinated	[bulε:n]	: urinating

CCu:Ciy:a

Verbal nouns having the pattern CCu:Ciy:a are formed from the form *fʳa:l* when describing a physical phenomenon and from regular verbs Form I when denoting an immoral act.

[bya:ḡ]	: he became white	[byu:ḡüy:ε]	: white coloration
[ṭwa:l]	: he became tall	[ṭwu:liy:ε]	: being tall
[zra:q]	: he became blue	[zro:qüy:ε]	: blue coloration

¹ The verbal noun with the pattern *fʳi:la* occurs in the dialect of Djemmal in the lexical item /*rʳi:ʃa*/.

[ʃqot]	: he acted shame- fully	[ʃqo:tüy:ε]	: acting shame- fully
[nε:k]	: he had sexual intercourse	[nyu:kiy:ε]	: prostituting

2.2.1.4 Patterns CV:C and CVCa:n

These verbal nouns are only formed from medial-weak verbs. The stem is always identical with the singular imperative stem when the characteristic vowel is /i/ or /u/.

CV:C

[ʃa:m]	: he fasted	[ʃo:m]	: fasting
[nε:m]	: he slept	[nu:m]	: sleeping
[bε:r]	: he sold	[bi:r]	: selling

CVCa:n

[sε:m]	: he bargained	[sumε:n]	: bargaining
[pa:m]	: he bathed	[pome:n]	: bathing, swimming
[fε:q]	: he waked up	[fiqα:n]	: waking up
[qα:m]	: he took	[qümε:n]	: taking

2.2.1.5 Patterns CCa and CCa:ya

Only final-weak verbs can form verbal nouns with these patterns.

CCa

The verbal noun stems are identical with the perfect stem 3rd p. sing. masc.

[ɣlε]	: he became dear	[ɣlε]	: dearness
[ʃfε]	: he cured	[ʃfε]	: curing
[rme]	: he became blind	[rme]	: blindness

CCa:ya

This pattern occurs in one single lexical item.

[qra]	: he read	[qra:ye]	: reading
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2.2.2 Derived verbal nouns

2.2.2.1 Form II; taCCi:C²

[nεb:εh]	: he warned	[tεnbi:h]	: warning
[kεs:εr]	: he broke	[tεksi:r]	: breaking
[pa:l:εm]	: he taught	[taɾli:m]	: teaching

² The dialect of Sūsa does not have the pattern taCCa:C which occurs in many North African dialects, see W. MARÇAIS, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, p. 92, *Le dialecte arabe des Ūlād Brāhīm de Saïda*, p. 121, and GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherrhell*, p. 74.

2.2.2.2 Form III; mCa:CCa

[qa:bi]	: he met	[mqa:blɛ]	: meeting
[qa:rün]	: he compared	[mqa:rɲɛ]	: comparing
[h̃a:sib]	: he settled an account	[mh̃a:sbɛ]	: settling an account

2.2.2.3 Form V; taCCi:C

[tʰal:ɛm]	: he learned	[taʰli:m]	: learning
[tʰal:ɛq]	: he got suspended	[taʰli:q]	: being suspended
[tmɛs:ax]	: he became dirty	[tmɛsi:x]	: becoming dirty

2.2.2.4 Form VI; tCaCi:C

[tʰa:rük]	: he became engaged in a fight	[tʰarü:k]	: fighting
[txa:süm]	: he quarreled	[txa:sü:m]	: quarreling
[tnɛ:fiq]	: he played the hypocrite	[tnɛfi:q]	: playing the hypocrite

2.2.2.5 Form VIII; CCiCa:C

[h̃tɛ:ʒ]	: he needed	[h̃tiyɛ:ʒ]	: needing
[ñthar]	: he committed suicide	[ñtiha:r]	: committing suicide

2.2.2.6 Form X; stiCCa:C

[stmar:]	: he continued	[stimra:r]	: continuing
[stɣal:]	: he exploited	[stiɣlɛ:l]	: exploiting
[stɛʰmɛl]	: he used	[stiʰmɛ:l]	: using, exploiting

The verbal noun formed from the verb /stawla/ has the pattern stiCa, however this form occurs in a few idiolects only.

[stɛwlɛ]	: he confiscated	[stilɛ]	: confiscating
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2.2.3 Quadriradical verbal nouns

2.2.3.1 Pattern tCaCCi:C

[wɛlwɛl]	: he lamented	[twɛlwi:l]	: lamenting
[ʃaɣʃib]	: he disturbed	[tʃaɣʃi:b]	: disturbing

2.3 SUBSTANTIVES

There are two types of substantives: pure and adjectival³ substantives. In order to avoid overlapping only pure substantives are listed in the following classification.

2.3.1 Biradical substantive stems

Biradical substantives correspond usually to 'hamzated' bi- and triradical substantives in Classical Arabic.

<u>Classical Arabic</u>		<u>Sūsa</u>
/ʔahl/	: parents	[ɛhɪ]
/ʔum:/	: mother	[um:]
/ʔuxt/	: sister	[uxt]
/ʔab/	: father	[bu]
/ʔax/	: brother	[xo]
/ma:ʔ/	: water	[mɛ]

2.3.2 Triradical substantive stems

Substantive stems with the patterns CCVC and CVCC are very frequent in all Western dialects.

2.3.2.1 Strong triradical substantive stems

Pattern CCVC

[bħar]	: sea
[qħar]	: grave
[ʔzil]	: bull
[rzil]	: foot
[ʂboʔ]	: finger
[ʔmor]	: age

Pattern CVCC

[qalɪb]	: heart
[qarn]	: century
[bort]	: harbour, port
[gurt]	: hay
[misk]	: perfume
[qüst]	: a part

³ An adjectival substantive is a substantive being able to function as noun and adjective, e.g. /qwi/ 'strong', 'strong man'.

Pattern CVCCa

There are two types of substantives having this pattern:

Substantives with the stem vowel /a/ and inflected from collectives having the pattern CCaC.

[bʂal]	: onions	[baʂla]	: an onion
[qmɛl]	: lice	[qamɛ]	: a louse

Feminine substantives.

[karmɛ]	: fig-tree
[marqa]	: sauce
[zibɛ]	: butter
[hüsɛ]	: account
[hoʂɛ]	: measles
[rokɛ]	: knee

2.3.2.2 Geminate substantive stems

Pattern CVC

[xad:]	: cheek
[naʂ:]	: text
[ʒid:]	: grandfather
[hüs:]	: sound
[fum:]	: mouth
[hob:]	: love

Pattern CVC:a

[ðɛl:ɛ]	: shame
[zɛl:ɛ]	: mistake
[qüs:a]	: a fairy tale
[hüs:a]	: period
[qob:ɛ]	: dome
[qof:ɛ]	: basket

Substantives with the stem vowel /u/ are very rare in all Tunisian dialects. Only substantive stems where C₁ consists of /q/ and C₂ of a labial enclose the characteristic vowel /u/.

2.3.2.3 Initial-weak substantive stems

Pattern wCaC ~ uCaC

[wʒal] ~ [uʒal]	: clay soil
[wʒaq] ~ [uʒaq]	: (kitchen) sink
[wʒax] ~ [uʒax]	: dirt

Pattern waCCa

[waqra]	: pimple
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[wamyɛ]	: burst of laughter
[wazra]	: blanket
[warda]	: a rose

2.3.2.4 Medial-weak substantive stems

Pattern CV:C

[na:r]	: fire
[ʔa:r]	: shame
[kɛ:s]	: glas
[ʒo:r]	: surrounding wall
[bu:l]	: urine
[ʒo:q]	: market

Pattern CV:Ca

[ʔa:dɛ]	: habit
[kɛ:sɛ]	: face-flannel
[ku:ra]	: ball
[du:ra]	: circle
[xü:bɛ]	: disappointment
[hü:lɛ]	: trick

2.3.2.5 Final-weak substantive stems

Pattern CCa

[hwɛ]	: air
[myɛ]	: hundred
[mra]	: woman

Patterns CCi and CCiy:a

[θni]	: two-year old animal
[nbi]	: prophet
[θniy:a]	: road
[mziy:a]	: favour

Pattern CCu

[hsu]	: porridge
[ʔbu]	: a person of the same age

2.3.2.6 Other triradical substantive stems

Pattern CCV:C

[bɛ:d]	: country
[ʒra:b]	: wine
[tra:b]	: sand
[fto:r]	: lunch

[ʃho:r]	: last meal before daybreak during the month of Ramadan
[zbi:b]	: raisin
[ħi:ʃ]	: grass
[ħli:b]	: milk

Substantives with the stem vowel /u:/ are very rare in all the Tunisian dialects. The patterns CCu:C is a usual plural form in the dialect of Sūsa, e.g. /qlu:b/ 'hearts' /kru:ʃ/ 'stomachs'.

Pattern CCV:Ca

[qwe:dɛ]	: gossip
[dʒɛ:ʒɛ]	: hen
[slɛ:mɛ]	: safety
[ħku:mɛ]	: government
[kro:mɛ]	: nape
[blu:mɛ]	: nib
[nqū:ʃɛ]	: engraving
[zrü:bɛ]	: stable
[nti:ʒɛ]	: result

Pattern CaCu:Ca

[nɛmu:sɛ]	: mosquito
[gɛzu:zɛ]	: soft drink
[qadu:mɛ]	: hammer

Pattern CuC:iC

Substantives with this pattern are very rare in all the Tunisian dialects, e.g. the dialect of Sūsa has a single substantive having this form.

[suk:ir]	: sugar
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Pattern CCuC:a

Only one example with this pattern was found in the dialect of Sūsa.

[mrɯw:ɛ]	: favour
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Pattern CVC:V:C

[xay:a:t]	: tailor
[zaʒ:a:r]	: butcher
[kɛn:ɛ:s]	: sweeper
[kul:ɛ:b]	: tang
[kut:ɛ:b]	: Koran school (lowest elementary school)
[ħal:u:f]	: pig
[fɛl:u:s]	: chicken
[bɛl:u:t]	: bluff
[rok:i:ʃ]	: cramp
[bat:ū:x]	: melon
[mir:ū:x]	: Mars

Pattern CVC:V:Ca

[kɛr:a:sɛ]	: exercise-book
[nɛw:ɛ:ra]	: flower
[ʒɛb:ɛ:nɛ]	: cemetery
[ðib:ɛ:nɛ]	: fly
[kɛr:o:sɛ]	: cab
[ʃɛl:u:fɛ]	: lip
[bɛl:u:tʃa]	: ear-ring
[sik:i:nɛ]	: knife
[qol:i:bɛ]	: swing

Substantives with the vocalic pattern a-a:-(a) are most frequent in all Tunisian dialects and can be opposed to the pattern i-a-(a) which only occurs in one single example, e.g. /ðib:a:na/. In the remaining substantives, V₁ is always /a/ when V₂ is /u:/ and any vowel when the latter is /i:/.

2.3.3 Quadriradical substantive stems

2.3.3.1 Substantive stems with four different radicals

All substantive stems enclose one resonant at least.

Pattern CaCCa:C

[qɑrdɛ:ʃ]	: carding comb
[ħatrɛ:f]	: thief
[ʒɛndɛ:l]	: pony-tail

Pattern CuCCa:C

[ʃolʔa:n]	: sultan
[ħorbɛ:l]	: sieve
[qomʃa:n]	: water-jug

Pattern CiCCa:C

[sirwɛ:l]	: trousers
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Only one substantive having this pattern occurs in the dialect of Sūsa.

Pattern CaCCi:C

[qɑndi:l]	: oil lamp
[karbi:l]	: carbīn

These are the only substantives of this pattern occurring in the dialect of Sūsa.

Pattern CiCCi:C

[bindi:r]	: eardrum
[hinʃi:r]	: arable land
[rʊfrʊ:t]	: malicious

Pattern CuCCi:C

[burdi:n] : brothel

[kurni:] : a place in Sūsa

The only occurring substantives with this pattern are loan words from French.

Pattern CaCCu:C

[kentu:l] : stone block

[qanfu:d] : hedgehog

[ʁarnu:q] : crane

Pattern CuCCa:Ca

[ʒurme:nɛ] : goose

[rosbe:nɛ] : meat ball

[munge:lɛ] : watch

Pattern CCuCC

[kromb] : cabbage

[ʃromb] : twig

Pattern CuCCCa ~ CuCəCCa

[bundqa] : hazel tree

[fuzədqɑ] : pistachio

Pattern CCu:CCu

[bro:klu] : cauliflower

2.3.3.2 Substantive stems where C_1 and C_3 are identical

Pattern $C_1VC_2C_1a:C_3$

[samsa:r] : broker

[gurge:b] : boring-machine

[firfe:s] : bad temper

Substantives with this pattern are very rare in all Tunisian dialects.

2.3.3.3 Substantive stems where C_1 and C_2 are identical with C_3 and C_4

Pattern $C_1VC_2C_1a:C_2$

[meʃme:ʃ] : apricot

[besbe:s] : aniseed

[feʃfe:ʃ] : spray

[xolxa:l] : anklet

V_1 is /a/ or /u/ but never /i/.

2.3.3.4 Substantives enclosing a reduplicated stem

Pattern $C_1iC_2iC_1C_2$

[ʒilʒil] : cowbell

[filfil] : pepper

2.3.4 Substantive stems with five radicals

2.3.4.1 Pattern CCaCCCa

[sfərʒlɛ] : a quince

[qronflɛ] : a carnation

2.3.5 Affixed substantive stems

2.3.5.1 Prefixed substantive stems

Pattern mVCCVC

[mɛdfɛr] : machine gun, cannon

[maʃqɑf] : roof over

[mizwid] : bagpipe

[miɣrüb] : time of sunset

There are two possible vocalic patterns, i.e. a-a and i-i.

Pattern mCaC

[mqɑʒ:] : scissors

[mħal:] : residence, commercial house

[mraʃ:] : perfume spray

Pattern mCaC:a

[mram:a] : building site

[mlɛm:ɛ] : body of people

[mkɛb:ɛ] : cover

Pattern mCi:Ca

[mʒü:bɛ] : disaster, misfortune

[mrü:ʃɛ] : means of subsistence

Substantives with this pattern are very rare in all Tunisian dialects. Thus the dialect of Sūsa has these two substantives only.

Pattern muCCa:C

[muxta:f] : hook

[musmɛ:r] : nail

[munʃa:r] : saw

All substantives having this form denote tools.

Pattern mVCa:C

[mizɛ:n] : balance

[miħa:ð]	: toilet
[menε:ʒ]	: amusement park
[mekε:n] ⁴	: place

There are two possible vocalic patterns: i-a: and a-a.

Pattern taCCi:Ca

[tebdilε]	: suit (of clothes)
[terki:nε]	: corner
[tεsbi:lε]	: alibi

2.3.5.2 Suffixed substantive stems

Pattern CCa:CCi

The suffix /i/ denotes most usually profession.

[ʂba:btū]	: shoemaker
[kra:rsi]	: coachman, driver
[ħwe:nti]	: shop keeper, merchant

Pattern CCiy:a

[ʀiy:ε]	: afternoon
[mziy:ε]	: favour, service
[xtūy:ε]	: fine

Pattern CVCCa:ʒi⁵

[xordε:ʒi]	: scrap merchant
[qahwε:ʒi]	: café keeper
[kεftε:ʒi]	: sandwich seller

Pattern CaCCaʒiy:a

[xordεʒiy:ε]	: scrap merchant (fem.)
[qahwεʒiy:ε]	: waitress
[kεftεʒiy:ε]	: sandwich seller (fem.)

⁴ Many speakers replace /maka:n/ with /mka:n/.

⁵ The suffix /ʒi/ which is derived from Turkish is very usual in the dialect of Sūsa and in the Jewish dialect of Tunis, see D. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, p. 180.

2.4 ADJECTIVES

There are two types of adjectives: regular and elative. The regular adjectives can be subdivided into two groups, i.e. pure and mixed adjectives. The latter may function as attributes and substantives while the pure adjectives occur as attributes only.

2.4.1 Regular adjectives

2.4.1.1 Mixed adjectives

Participles

Verbal active and nominal passive participles function both as adjectives and substantives.

Substantives

[əlhɑ:yir mɛ:t]	: the disconcerted died	[ra:ʒil hɑ:yir]	: a disconcerted man
[ʒɑ:yim hrab]	: a fasting man ran away	[tɔflɛ ʒɑ:ymɛ]	: a fasting young girl
[mitnɛf:ix ʒɛ:k]	: a snob came to you	[um: mitnɛf:xa]	: a snob mother
[ʒɑ:lih]	: proper name	[kɛlb ʒɑ:lih]	: a useful dog

Substantives

There are two types of substantives: pure and adjectival. Pure substantives do never occur as attributes.

[ktɛ:b]	: book
[zbi:b]	: raisin
[ðib:ɛ:nɛ]	: fly

Adjectival substantives function as substantives and adjectives.

[furta:ʒ]	: a baldpate	[mra furta:ʒɑ]	: a bald woman
[bɛk:ɛ:y]	: a weeper	[ra:ʒil bɛk:ɛ:y]	: an irritable man
[mibu:n]	: an homosexual	[ʔzu:zɛ mibu:nɛ]	: a sex hungry old lady

2.4.1.2 Pure adjectives

Pure adjectives cannot be substantivized.

Pattern CCV

The stem vowel is /i/ or /u/ but never /a/.

[xobz trü]	: new bread
[ra:ʒil qwi]	: a strong man
[lu:z hlu]	: sweet almond

Patterns Ca:CaC and Ca:CCa

[bhi:m zɛ:yid]	: a useless donkey
[wɛd gɛ:nid]	: a shy boy
[zibdɛ mɛ:lɥa]	: salt butter
[karhba t̥a:yra]	: a very rapid car

Pattern CCV:C(a)

[t̥fol: ʃbɛ:b]	: a nice child
[mra ʃbɛ:bɛ]	: a nice woman
[nha:r ʃxo:n]	: a very hot day
[ʒumpa mʃu:mɛ]	: a horrible week
[ktɛ:b qdi:m]	: an old book
[θniy:ɛ ɾrū:ð̥a]	: a large road

Patterns Ca:Ca and Ca:Cya

[kɛlb ʃa:li]	: an expensive dog
[blɛ:d xa:lyɛ]	: an empty country

Pattern maCCu:C(a)

[da:r mɛdhu:nɛ]	: a painted house
[hü:t̥ manqo:b]	: a cracked wall

Patterns aCCaC, CaCCa and CV:Ca

The pattern CV:Ca replaces CaCCa when the lexical items enclose the diphthong /ay/ or /aw/ e.g. /bayð̥a/ 'white' and /^ɾawra/ 'one-eyed' are realized as /bi:ð̥a/ and /^ɾu:ra/ respectively.

[wiʒ: ɛkɥal]	: a black face
[t̥a:wɛ bi:ð̥a]	: a white table
[wiʒhu lazraq]	: his blue face
[mra xað̥ra]	: a sexy woman

2.4.2 Elative adjectives

2.4.2.1 The comparative degree

Participial adjectives

Active and passive participial adjectives form the comparative by a post-adjectival phrase in which one of the intensifiers (/akθar/ 'more', /aqa:l/ 'less' and /aḥsin/ 'better') occurs followed or not followed by the preposition /min/ 'than' and a noun or a personal suffix.

[hɛ r:a:ʒil ɾa:mil ɛkθar]	: this man is doing more
[tɛwɛ qa:yɛ ɛkθar]	: now it is warmer
[ir:a:ʒil mɛhbu:l ɛkθar]	: the man is crazier
[id:inyɛ mɛɥ:bɛ aḥsin]	: it is more cloudy
[da:rna ɾa:lyɛ aqa:l min da:rhum]	: our house is lower than theirs

[ho:tne miʃwi ɛkθar min ho:thum]	: our fish is more grilled than theirs
[limra xa:dme ɛkθar minhum]	: the woman is working harder than them

Other adjectives

With the exception of the participials the adjectives form the comparative with the comparison morpheme {ä} prefixed to the comparative stem of the adjective with the pattern CCVC. The comparative adjectives do not agree with the noun in definiteness and are not inflected for number or gender. The stem vowel of the comparative adjectives is /a/ or /i/ but never /u/.

[liktɛ:b aɣlɛ]	: the book is more expensive
[hʃa:ni akbɛr min bhi:mu]	: my horse is older than his donkey
[martik ɛsmin]	: you wife is fatter
[martu ɛzyin]	: his wife is more beautiful
[iʃ:ra:b aɣlɛ mi-lmɛ]	: wine is sweeter than water
[da:rü aqdim min hanu:tu]	: my house is older than his shop

The comparative degree can also be formed by a phrase enclosing an intensifier followed by a verbal noun.

[lulɛd ɛkθar gdu:ɾüy:a]	: the boy is stronger
[fi ʒ:ü:f ɛkθar ɾomɛ:n]	: people bathe more often in summer
[il:u:n aqal: zro:qüy:ɛ]	: the colour is less blue
[su:sɛ ɛkθar ɣlɛ min tu:nis]	: it is more expensive in Sūsa than in Tunis

2.4.2.2 The superlative degree

The comparative adjective denotes the superlative degree when occurring in pre-nominal position followed or not by /fʔ/ phrase.

[ɛkbar ra:zil]	: the oldest man
[aɣlɛ mɛ]	: the sweetest water
[aɣsin ra:zil]	: the best man
[hu:wɛ aɣsin lɛ:ɾüb]	: he is the best player
[hi:yɛ ɛzyin mra fi lɥo:mɛ]	: she is the most beautiful woman in the district
[ɾli aɣna wɛ:hüd fi lɾü:lɛ]	: Ali is the richest is the family

The superlative adjectives are inflected for allocation as in:

[akbarhum]	: the biggest of them
[aɣlɛ:hum]	: the sweetest of them
[aɣwalnɛ]	: the tallest of us

The superlative adjectives as the comparatives do not agree with the noun in definiteness and are not inflected for gender or number. However it can be inflected for definiteness in verbal topical sentences.

[lahsin yirbiɣ myɛt ɛlf]	: the best wins hundred thousands
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- [lɛfqar yɛ:xo bint ʔam:i] : the poorest marries my cousin
 [lɛkθir kubr yudxol liʒ:βiʔa:r] : the oldest comes into the hospital
- Some loan words with a superlative meaning are also used to signal the superlative degree.
- [librü:ma yaqra dɛrsu] : the best one reads his lesson

2.5 GENDER

In the dialect of Sūsa as well as in Classical Arabic, there are two gender categories: masculine and feminine. The masculine nouns are unmarked whereas the feminine nouns are marked or unmarked.

2.5.1 Formation of feminine of substantives

2.5.1.1 Marked feminine nouns

The dialect of Sūsa has the feminine marker /a/ which may have a semantic reference to sex as in the following instances:

[tɔflɛ]	: a young girl
[mra]	: woman
[bɛgra]	: cow

The suffix /a/ may also occur without reference to sex as in:

[marqɑ]	: sauce
[qūfla]	: button
[ʃuʒra]	: tree

Substantive stems which are inherently masculine are usually inflected for the feminine gender in the absolute state with the feminine marker /a/. Only substantives ending with /i/ get the suffix /y:a/.

[kɛlb]	: dog	[kɛlbɛ]	: bitch
[fa:r]	: mouse	[fa:ra]	: mouse (fem)
[ʒa:r]	: neighbour	[ʒa:ra]	: neighbour ('s wife)
[hwɛ:nti]	: shop keeper, merchant	[hwɛ:ntiy:ɛ]	: shop keeper, mer- chant (fem.)
[tɛ:rzi]	: tailor	[tɛ:rziy:ɛ]	: tailor (fem.)

2.5.1.2 Unmarked feminine nouns

The proper gender in the unmarked feminine nouns is shown when used with a verb or an adjective. The following stems are feminine by usage:

Nouns denoting double parts of the body

[rū:n]	: eye
[rʒil]	: foot
[sɛ:q]	: leg
[uðin] ~ [wðin]	: ear
[yid:]	: hand

Nouns denoting females with or without the old feminine suffix /t/

[um:]	: mother
[bint]	: daughter

[uxt] : sister

A few common words

[ʃɛms] : sun

[smɛ] : sky

[na:r] : fire

Nouns of towns and countries

[nɛ:bi] : Nabeul

[gɛ:bi] : Gabès

[maʒr] : Egypt

[lubnɛ:n] : Lebanon

2.5.2 Formation of feminine of participles

All participles active and passive are inflected for the feminine with the suffix /a/. Apart from passive participles with the pattern maCCu:C all participles lose V_2 when the feminine suffix is added.

<u>masc.</u>		<u>fem.</u>
[kɛ:ti]	: writing	[kɛ:ti]
[qɑ:ri]	: reading	[qɑ:ri]
[xa:dim]	: working	[xa:di]
[mektu:b]	: written	[mektu:bi]
[maʁmu:l]	: done	[maʁmu:l]
[msɛl:ɛh]	: armed	[msɛl:h]
[mqɑ:t:ɑ]	: torn	[mqɑ:t:a]

2.5.3 Formation of feminine of adjectives

Adjectives are always made feminine by adding the suffix /a/. Adjectives having two vowels in masculine undergo the same morphological change as participles.

<u>masc.</u>		<u>fem.</u>
[kbi:r]	: big	[kbi:ra]
[sxɔ:n]	: warm	[sxɔ:n]
[ʃbɛ:b]	: nice	[ʃbɛ:bi]
[mɛ:li]	: salt	[mɛ:li]
[mitnɛf:ix]	: snob	[mitnɛf:xa]

Adjectives having the pattern CCv get the feminine markers /w:a/ or /y:a/.

<u>masc.</u>		<u>fem.</u>
[hlu]	: sweet	[hluw:ɛ]
[qwi]	: strong	[qwi:y:ɛ]

Adjectives of the pattern *af^{ra}l* denoting colours and defects have most often the fem. sing. pattern *fa^{ra}la*.

masc.		fem.
[a _z raq]	: blue	[za _z raqa]
[εkhal]	: black	[ka _h lε]
[a _s far]	: yellow	[sa _s fra]
[a ^{ra} mε]	: blind	[^{ra} amyε]
[a ^{ra} mεʃ]	: blear-eyed	[^{ra} mʃε]

The realization of the older diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ as /u:/ and /i:/ respectively explains the pattern CV:Ca, e.g.

[a ^{ra} war]	: one-eyed	[^{ro} :ra]
[abyað]	: white	[bi:ða]

2.5.4 The feminine allomorph /t/

Feminine noun stems in which the feminine gender is signalled by the feminine morpheme {a} get the allomorph /t/ when followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel.

[bagərti]	: my cow
[gəlbti:n]	: twenty litres
[martik]	: you wife
[tuf:ε:h _t u]	: his apple
[dʒε:ʒti:n]	: two hens

The morpheme {a} has the allomorph /it/ when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant or when the feminine noun occurs as a head of a genitival nominal phrase.

[tuf:ε:h _t utε]	: our apple
[ku:ritkum]	: your boll
[kəlbithum]	: their bitch
[kəlb _i t l _u ɛd]	: the boy's bitch
[^{ru} :lit ^{ri} li]	: Ali's family
[tuf:ε:h _t ut sa:lih]	: Salah's apple
[mart ^{ri} li] ⁶	: Ali's wife

⁶ The feminine noun /*mra*/ 'wife' gets the suffix /t/ when occurring as a head of a genitival nominal phrase.

2.6 NUMBER

Substantives have four numbers: singular, dual, collective and plural, whereas participles and adjectives have two only; i.e. singular and plural.

2.6.1 The singular

The singular nouns are unmarked. Regarding the feminine morpheme {a} as a morpheme of gender and number (fem. and sing.) would lead us to consider the /t/ allomorph of {a} as a marker of gender and number too which is not the case in the following examples.

[bagərti:n] : two cows [kəlbti:n] : two bitches

2.6.2 The dual

The dual is formed by adding the dual morpheme {i:n} to the singular form. The dual form is less productive in the dialect of Sūsa than in Classical Arabic. It occurs, e.g. only in noun stems semantically limited to estimated domestic animals, such as cows, and to units of measurement.

[bəgərti:n] : two cows
[niʔəʒti:n] : two ewes
[wi:btɪ:n] : forty litres
[gɛlbti:n] : twenty litres
[ɛlfi:n] : two thousands
[miti:n] : two hundreds
[rəmi:n] : two years

The dual form is very rare in most idiolects of the dialect of Sūsa, e.g. parts of the body which are paired are most often preceded by /zu:z/ 'two' and most of the speakers of the younger generation use /zu:z/ followed by a plural form instead of dual nouns.

[zu:z rʊni:n] : two eyes
[zu:z idi:n] : two hands
[zu:z bəgrat] : two cows (the younger generation only)
[idɛy:ɛ iz:u:z] : my two hands

2.6.3 The collective

In the dialect of Sūsa as in most other Arabic dialects, there are two types of collective substantives.

2.6.3.1

Collectives denoting a collective of things or animals regarded as a unit and being able to form singular nouns with the suffix /a/.

[zitu:n]	: olives	[zitu:nɛ]	: an olive
[qmɛl]	: lice	[qɔmlɛ]	: a louse
[bʒal]	: onions	[baʒla]	: an onion
[ward]	: roses	[wardɛ]	: a rose
[fu:l]	: broad beans	[fu:lɛ]	: a broad bean
[bgar]	: cows	[bɛgra]	: a cow
[nha1]	: bees	[nahla]	: a bee

2.6.3.2

Collectives denoting a mass or a volume and being unable to form singular nouns.

[fɛrũ:nɛ]	: flour
[nɛ:s]	: people
[dux:a:n]	: smoke
[zi:t]	: oil
[ʔsɛl]	: honey

2.6.4 The plural

There are three types of plural nouns: sound plural, broken plural and suffixed broken plural nouns.

2.6.4.1 Sound plural

Sound plural nouns are formed with the suffixes /i:n/, /a:t/ and /a/.

Participles

Verbal participles get always the allomorph /i:n/ both in the masculine and the feminine.

<u>sing.</u>		<u>pl.</u>
[kɛ:tib]	: writing	[kɛ:tbi:n]
[mqɑ:bi1]	: meeting	[mqɑ:bli:n]
[mɛsmu:m]	: poisoned	[mɛsmumi:n]
[mitkɛs:ir]	: being broken	[mitkɛs:rũ:n]

Apart from passive participles with the pattern maCCu:C all participles drop V₂ when the plural suffix is added.

Substantives

Feminine substantives get the suffix /a:t/.

<u>sing. patterns</u>	<u>sing.</u>		<u>pl.</u>
CuC:a	[qow:ɛ]	: strength	[qow:ɛ:t]
CCaC:a	[θray:ɛ]	: pendant lamp	[θray:ɛ:t]
CCa	[ʳṣa]	: peg	[ʳṣayɛ:t]
CCu:Ca	[ḥku:mɛ]	: government	[ḥkumɛ:t]
CaCCa:Ca	[t̪ab:a:xa]	: cook	[t̪ab:axa:t]

Adjectives

Feminine and masculine adjectives get the suffix /i:n/ when forming plural.

Adjectives of the pattern CaCCa:C get the suffix /a/.

<u>sing. patterns</u>	<u>sing.</u>		<u>pl.</u>
Ca:Ci	[ʳa:li]	: high	[ʳali:n]
CCu:Ci	[ḥsu:di]	: jealous	[ḥsudi:n]
CaC:a:C	[kɛð:ɛ:b]	: liar	[kɛð:ɛ:bɛ]
CaC:a:C	[dɛʒ:ɛ:l]	: charlatan	[dɛʒ:ɛ:lɛ]

2.6.4.2 Broken plural

Participles

Nominal active participles form the plural with the pattern CuC:a:C.

[sɛ:rüq]	: thief	[sur:a:q]
[kɛ:tib]	: writer	[kut:ɛ:b]

Substantives

Pattern CCVC

Substantive stems with a weak second radical get the vowel /i/. The remaining stems get the same stem vowel as in the singular.

<u>sing. patterns</u>	<u>sing.</u>		<u>pl.</u>
CaCCa	[ʳalqɑ]	: snail	[ʳlaq]
CiCCa	[ḥüsbɛ]	: account	[ḥsib]
CuCCa	[ḥofra]	: hole	[ḥfur]
Ci:Ca	[ʃi:ta]	: brush	[ʃyit]
CawCa	[dɛwle]	: government	[dwil]

Pattern CCa:C

CCaC	[ʒbɛl]	: mountain	[ʒbɛ:l]
CaCC	[kɛlb]	: dog	[klɛ:b]
CiCC	[ʳürs]	: marriage	[ʳra:s]
CuCC	[ʕord]	: a rude man	[ʕra:d]
Ca:CiC	[ra:ʒil]	: man	[rʒɛ:l]
Ca:C	[da:r]	: house	[dya:r]
Ci:C	[ʳü:d]	: feast	[ʳyɛ:d]
Cu:C	[ʒo:q]	: market	[swɛ:q]
CaCCa	[qahbɛ]	: whore	[qha:b]

Pattern CCu:C

<u>sing. patterns</u>	<u>sing.</u>		<u>pl.</u>
CaCC	[t̪arf]	: part	[t̪ro:f]
CiCC	[kirʃ]	: stomach	[kro:ʃ]
CiC:	[ʒin:]	: demon	[ʒnu:n]
Ci:C	[bi:t]	: room	[byu:t]
CaCCa	[d̪erʒɛ]	: step	[dro:ʒ]

Pattern CCi:C

CiCCa	[miʔɛ]	: goat	[mʔü:z]
CCi:Ciy:a	[zli:ziy:ɛ]	: a tile	[zli:z]

This plural form occurs in the two above-mentioned examples only.

Pattern CCa:yiC

CaC:a	[qaʒ:a]	: a cloth	[qsa:yiʒ]
CCa:Ca	[xsa:ra]	: loss	[xsa:yir]
CCi:Ca	[xli:qa]	: face	[xla:yiqa]
CCu:Ca	[nbu:lɛ]	: bladder	[nbɛ:yill]

Pattern CCa:CiC

CCa:C	[ʒnɛ:h]	: wing	[ʒwɛ:niʒ]
Ca:CiC	[ʃɛ:rüʔ]	: street	[ʃwɛ:rüʔ]
CaCu:C	[hanu:t]	: shop	[h̪wɛ:nit]
CuCCuC	[funduq]	: primitive hotel	[fnɛ:diq]
CaCCCa	[qant̪ra]	: bridge	[qna:t̪ür]
CaCCu:C	[qab̪ro:s]	: crab	[qba:rüs]
CiCa:C	[ʃita:n]	: devil	[ʃyɛ:t̪ün]
mCaCCa	[m̪ɣarfe]	: spoon	[m̪ɣa:rüf]

This plural pattern is most frequent in the dialect of Sūsa.

Adjectives

Pattern CCa:C

<u>sing. patterns</u>	<u>sing.</u>		<u>pl.</u>
CCi:C	[t̪wi:l]	: tall, long	[t̪wɛ:l]
CCi:C	[qbi:h]	: ugly	[qbe:h]

Pattern CCuC:

CCi:C	[ʒdi:d]	: new	[ʒdud:]
CCi:C	[qdi:m]	: old	[qdum:]

2.6.4.3 Suffixed broken plural

Participles

Participles do not form suffixed broken plural.

Substantives

Pattern VCa:Ci

sing. patterns

	sing.		pl.
aCC	[arð̣]	: plot	[ara:ð̣u]
iCC	[ism]	: name	[isɛ:mi]
iCCa	[ibra]	: nail	[ibɛ:rü]

Pattern CuCCa

CCi:C	[ṭbi:b]	: physician	[ṭob:ɛ]
CCi:C	[mrü:ð̣]	: sick man	[murð̣a]

Pattern CCu:Ca

CiCC	[qürd]	: monkey	[qro:dɛ]
CCaC	[ðkar]	: male	[ðku:ra]

Pattern Cwa:Ca

Cu:Ci	[ro:mi]	: occidental	[rwɛ:mɛ]
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Pattern Cwa:CCa

Cu:CCi	[tu:nsi]	: Tunisian	[twɛ:nsɛ]
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Pattern CiCCa:n

CCa:C	[blɛ:d]	: country	[bildɛ:n]
CCi:C	[uʃü:f] ~ [wʃü:f]	: black (man)	[wiʃfɛ:n]
CCu	[ɛdu]	: enemy	[ɛüdwɛ:n]

Pattern CiCa:n

Ca:C	[bɛ:b]	: door	[bibɛ:n]
Ca:C	[sɛ:s]	: foundation	[sisɛ:n]

Adjectives

Pattern CuCya

CCi	[ɣni]	: rich	[ɣonyɛ]
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Pattern CCa:ya

CiCya:n	[ɛüryɛ:n]	: naked	[ɛra:yɛ]
CiCya:n	[hüfyɛ:n]	: bare-foot	[hfɛ:yɛ]

Pattern Cwa:wCiy:a

Caw:a:Ci	[zɛw:a:li]	: poor	[zwɛ:wli:y:ɛ]
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Pattern CCa:yCiy:a

CCa:yCi	[ɛnɛ:ydi]	: obstinate	[ɛnɛ:ydiy:ɛ]
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2.6.4.3 Other plural forms

The lexical item /mra/ has the plural form /nsa/.

The form *faʿ:ala:t* as in the instance /ay:ama:t maʿduda:t/ 'few counted days' days' is opposed⁷ to the form *faʿ:a:l* in /ay:a:m maʿdu:da/ 'counted days'.

⁷ The same form occurs in the Jewish dialects in Tunis and Alger, see D. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, p. 203, and M. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, p. 313.

2.7 DEFINITENESS

Nouns in the dialect of Sūsa are inflected for definiteness either overtly with the morpheme {el} or covertly by being a head of a nominal construct or a genitival phrase.

[ilmɛ]	: the water
[ktɛ:b ir:a:ʒil]	: the book of the man
[ktɛ:bu]	: his book

Proper nouns and nouns or adjectives preceded by the vocative particle /ya/ are also covertly inflected for definiteness.

[ɾli]	: Ali
[yɛ wlɛd]	: you boy!

The dialect of Sūsa does not have the indefinite article⁸ (/wa:hɪd/ + definite noun) of most urban North African dialects.

The definite article {el} has the following allomorphs:

The allomorph /iC/ where C is identical with the first consonant of nouns and adjectives beginning with /t/, /d/, /t̤/, /θ/, /ð/, /ð̤/, /s/, /s̤/, /z/, /z̤/, /r/, /n/ or /ʃ/, i.e. the consonant of the article is assimilated to the above-mentioned consonants.

[it̤:bi:b]	: the physician
[is:ɛ:rūq]	: the thief
[in:iʒmɛ]	: the star
[iθ:u:ra]	: the revolution
[ið:i:b]	: the wolf
[iʒ:ü:f]	: the summer
[iʒ:mɛl]	: the camel
[iʒ:a:r]	: the neighbour
[ir:a:s]	: the head

The allomorph /l/ before nouns or adjectives beginning with a vowel.

[lɛrnib]	: the rabbit
[lazraq]	: the blue
[lulɛd]	: the boy

The allomorph /Vl/ before nouns and adjectives beginning with a single consonant. The vowel is [i] or [ə] depending on the quality of C₁, i.e. the vowel is [ə] when C₁ is a back consonant and [i] elsewhere.

⁸ This form occurs in Alger (Jewish), Saïda and Tlemcen, see M. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, p. 345, W. MARÇAIS, *Le dialecte arabe des Ulâd Brâhîm de Saïda*, p. 148, and *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, p. 118.

[ilme]	: the water
[ilbɛ:qu]	: the rest
[ilwɛ:li]	: the governor
[ilyu:m]	: the day
[əlqu:mɛ]	: the value
[əlxɑ:lyɛ]	: the dear (fem.)
[əlhɑ:kim]	: the judge
[əlxɑ:yif]	: the scared

The allomorph /IV/ before nouns and adjectives beginning with two consonants.

The vowel is /a/ or /i/ in accordance with the following rules:

The article gets the vowel [a] or [ɑ] before a noun or an adjective beginning with a pharyngeal, i.e. /ʕ/ or /ħ/.

[lahmɛ:mɛ]	: the pigeon
[lahra:m]	: evil
[laʕqɑl]	: the brain
[laʕɛ:rüt]	: the malicious (pl.)

The article has an /i/ vowel before a noun or an adjective beginning with /m/, /b/, /f/, /g/, /k/, /q/ or /x/.

[libhi:m]	: the donkey
[limra]	: the woman
[liflu:s]	: the money
[ligrɛ:ʒim]	: the throats
[liqlam]	: the pencil
[likbi:r]	: the old, the big
[liɣbi:nɛ]	: the sadness

The article has an /a/ vowel before a noun or an adjective beginning with the laryngeal /h/.

[lɛhwɛ]	: the air
[lɛhbɛ:l]	: the insanity
[lɛhro:b]	: the escape

2.8 NUMERALS

2.8.1 Cardinals

2.8.1.1 The cardinal numbers from 1 to 10

[wɛ:hüd]	: one
[θni:n] ~ [zu:z]	: two
[θlɛ:θɛ]	: three
[arbɔa]	: four
[xamɛ]	: five
[sit:ɛ]	: six
[sɛbɔa]	: seven
[θmenyɛ] ⁹	: eight
[tisɔa]	: nine
[ɔa{ra]	: ten

[wɛ:hüd] is the only cardinal which shows gender distinction, e.g. [wahdɛ]. The form [zu:z] occurs in most North African dialects. In the dialect of Sūsa [θni:n] occurs always in absolute state whereas [zu:z] most often in construct state.

[rüt θni:n]	: I saw two
[zu:z klɛ:b]	: two dogs

The dialect of Sūsa has the form /arbɔa/ which makes it opposed to many other North African dialects having the form /rabɔa/.¹⁰

2.8.1.2 The days of the week

The days of the week are as in Classical Arabic and all Arabic dialects, partially identical with the cardinal numbers.

[liθni:n]	: Monday
[iθ:lɛ:θɛ]	: Tuesday
[lirbɔa]	: Wednesday
[lixmi:s]	: Thursday
[iʒ:umɔa]	: Friday
[is:ibt]	: Saturday
[laḥad:]	: Sunday

⁹ The dialect of Sūsa has the form /θmanya/ with a short vowel and is opposed to the North African Beduin dialects which have a long vowel, see GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherchell*, p. 124.

¹⁰ Cf. GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherchell*, p. 124, M. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, p. 356, G. COLIN, *Notes sur le parler arabe du nord de la région de Taza*, p. 78, W. MARÇAIS, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, p. 155.

2.8.1.3 The cardinal numbers from 11 to 19

[hdε:ʃ]	: 11
[θna:ʃ]	: 12
[tlat̪a:ʃ]	: 13
[arboʔa:ʃ]	: 14
[xmaʃta:ʃ]	: 15
[sit̪a:ʃ]	: 16
[sbaʔta:ʃ]	: 17
[θmaʃta:ʃ]	: 18
[tisʔa:ʃ]	: 19

When compared with Classical Arabic the cardinal numbers in the dialect of Sūsa have a different vowel quantity.

2.8.1.4 The cardinal numbers from 20 upwards

[ʀüʃrü:n]	: 20
[θl̪εθi:n]	: 30
[arboü:n]	: 40
[xamsi:n]	: 50
[sit̪i:n]	: 60
[seboü:n]	: 70
[θmeni:n]	: 80
[tisʀü:n]	: 90
[wε:hüd-wi-θl̪εθi:n]	: 31
[θl̪ε:θε w-arboü:n]	: 43
[tisʔa-w-seboü:n]	: 79
[myε-w-sit̪ε w-arboü:n]	: 146
[ɛlf w-arboʔa]	: 1.004
[ɛlf u-miti:n wi θl̪ε:θε-w-ʀüʃrü:n]	: 1.223
[zu:z ml̪ε:yin wi-myε:t ɛlf]	: 2.100.000
[θna:ʃn ɛlf mɛlyu:n]	: 12.000.000.000

The cardinals vary from one dialect to another, but almost the same system is found in all Western dialects. The conjunction {w} has an /u/ allomorph when occurring between a cardinal ending with a consonant and a word beginning with a consonant followed by a vowel.

[ɛlf u xamsi:n]	: 1.050
[ɛlf u seboü:n]	: 1.070

{w} gets an /wi/ allomorph when the second cardinal begins with two consonants.

[mɛlyu:n wi myε]	: 1.000.100
[ɛlf wi myε]	: 1.100

The conjunction {w} has also an /w/ allomorph when occurring between two vowels or a vowel and a consonant.

[xamse w-arb^ui:n] : 45

[sit:ε-w sit:i:n] : 66

Cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 get the morphophonemic shape -----n¹¹ when occurring in a construct state. The morpheme {n} has two allomorphs:

The allomorph /n/ when the following noun begins with a vowel.

[tis^uat:a:}n əlf] : 19.000

[xmas^uta:}n ɛrnib] : fifteen rabbits

The allomorph /in/ when followed by a noun beginning with a consonant.

[sit^ua:}in mɛlyu:n] : 16.000.000

[tis^uat:a:}in kɛlb] : nineteen dogs

The noun following cardinal numbers from two to ten is always inflected for plural number.

[zu:z klɛ:b] : two dogs

[xamse wlɛ:d] : five boys

2.8.2 Ordinals

<u>masc.</u>		<u>fem.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
[lu:l] ~ [lulɛ:ni]	: the first	[lu:lɛ] ~ [lulɛniy:ɛ]	[luli:n] ~ [lulɛni:n]
[iθ:ɛ:ni]	: the second	[iθ:ɛ:nyɛ]	[iθ:ɛni:n]
[iθ:ɛ:liθ]	: the third	[iθ:ɛ:liθɛ]	
[ir:a:biɐ]	: the forth	[ir:a:bɐa]	
[əlxɑ:mis]	: the fifth	[əlxɑ:mɛɛ]	
[is:ɛ:tɪt]	: the sixth	[is:ɛ:t:ɛ]	
[is:ɛ:biɐ]	: the seventh	[is:ɛ:bɐa]	
[iθ:ɛ:min]	: the eighth	[iθ:ɛ:mnɛ]	
[it:ɛ:siɐ]	: the ninth	[it:ɛ:sɐa]	
[əlpɑ:}ir]	: the tenth	[əlpɑ:}ra]	
[əlhɑ:di}	: the eleventh	[əlhɑ:dɛɛ]	
[iθ:a:ni}	: the twelfth	[iθ:a:nɛɛ]	

There are special forms for the ordinals from one to twelve only,¹² in the case of higher numbers the cardinals are used.

[ɛ:ni t^uat:a:}] : I am the thirteenth

¹¹ The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Tunis, see STUMME, Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch, p. 125.

¹² In the dialect of Cherchell there are special forms for the ordinals from one to ten only and in the dialect of Tlemcen from one to eleven. See GRAND-HENRY, Le parler arabe de Cherchell, p. 127, and W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen, p. 161.

All the ordinals are adjectives and agree in gender. The form [lu:l] occurs most usually as an attribute or a predicate whereas [lulɛ:ni] as a substantive.

[lulɛd: lu:l xðɛ liktɛ:b] : the first boy took the book

[huw:ɛ lu:l] : he is first

[lulɛ:ni tiɣnɛ] : the first one became rich

The first and second ordinals agree with the preceding noun in gender and number.

[limra l:u:lɛ kitbit] : the first woman wrote

[ir:ʒɛ:l l:ulɛni:n wiʒlu] : the first men arrived

[libnɛ:t iθ:ɛni:n] : the second girls

[limra iθ:ɛ:nyɛ] : the second woman

All ordinals from one to twelve are always definite.¹³ V₂ which is always /i/ disappears when the ordinals from two (upwards) are inflected for definiteness.

2.8.3 Fractions

[nos:] ~ [nofs] : a half

[θluθ:] : a third (part)

[rboʔ:] : a quarter

[xmus:] : a fifth (part)

[zdus:] : a sixth (part)

[sbuʔ:] : a seventh (part)

[θmun:] : an eighth (part)

[tsuʔ:] : a ninth (part)

[ʔsur:] : a tenth (part)

There are special forms for fractions from two to ten only, elsewhere percentage is used.

[ħdɛ:ʃ fi lmyɛ] : eleven per cent

[t̪l̪at̪:a:ʃ fi lmyɛ] : thirteen per cent

All fractions in the dialect of Sūsa (except /nos:/) have a regular pattern, i.e. CCuC:.

¹³ In other North African dialects the ordinals occur also in indefinite form, see e.g. GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherchell*, p. 127, W. MARÇAIS, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, p. 161, and D. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, p. 234.

2.8.4 Basic measures

[kɛnu:n]	: three ¹⁴
[hɑ:ra]	: four
[ʁüt:i:dik]	: five ¹⁵
[tɔz:i:nɛ]	: twelve
[sɑ:nti]	: one centimeter
[mi:tro]	: one meter
[ʁʊri:y:ɛ]	: one decilitre
[xmu:siy:ɛ]	: two decilitres
[rburü:tra]	: a quarter of a litre (fluid)
[li:tra]	: one litre
[di:gɛ]	: ten litres (fluid)
[robri:y:ɛ]	: a quarter of a liter (mass)
[gɛlbɛ]	: ten litres (mass)
[wi:bɛ]	: twenty litres (mass)
[wqüy:ɛ] ~ [uqüy:ɛ]	: three grams
[rtal:]	: one pound
[ki:lu]	: one kilogram

Many of the measures are loan words from French and Italian.

¹⁴ This form occurs among merchants only.

¹⁵ The lexical item /ʁit:i:dik/ is derived from the items [ʁüd: i:dik] 'count (the fingers of) your hand'.

2.9 PRONOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

2.9.1 Personal pronouns

2.9.1.1 Independent personal pronouns

Independent pronouns occur as free forms and are usually referred to as free subject personal pronouns.

Singular

3rd p. masc.	[hu:wɛ]
3rd p. fem.	[hi:yɛ]
2nd p. c.	[inti]
1st p. c.	[ɛ:ni] ¹⁶

Plural

3rd p. c.	[humɛ] ~ [hu:mɛ] ¹⁷
2nd p. c.	[ntu:mɛ]
1st p. c.	[aħnɛ]

Only the 3rd p. sing. masc. morpheme is inflected for gender, i.e. /hi:ya/ 'she' and /hu:wa/ 'he'. The dual is lacking in the pronominal paradigms.

2.9.1.2 Bound personal pronouns

The suffixed personal pronouns are referred to as object personal suffixes. There are two types of object personal suffixes: direct objects suffixed to verbs only and indirect objects suffixed to prepositions and nouns. The indirect object suffixes functioning as possessive pronouns are treated separately.

Direct object suffixes

Singular

3rd p. masc.	[-u] [-h]
3rd p. fem.	[-hɛ]
2nd p. c.	[-k] [-ik]
1st p. c.	[-ni]

Plural

3rd p. c.	[-hum]
2nd p. c.	[-kum]
1st p. c.	[-nɛ]

¹⁶ The form /ʔani/ occurs in the dialect of Hôrân, see J. CANTINEAU, *Les parlers arabes du Hôrân*, p. 193.

¹⁷ Many other North African dialects have the forms /ntuma:n/ and /humai:n/, see, e.g. D. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, p. 210, W. MARÇAIS, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, p. 120, and GRAND-HENRY, *Le parler arabe de Cherchell*, p.128.

The 2nd p. sing. suffix has two allomorphs: /k/ after a vowel and /ik/ after a consonant.

[ɣnɛ:k]	: he made you rich
[ra:k]	: he saw you
[ʔarfik]	: he knew you
[kɛl:mik]	: he talked to you

The suffix of the 3rd p. sing. masc. has also two allomorphs: /u/ after a consonant and /h/ after a vowel.

[ʔa:wnu]	: he helped him
[ħab:u]	: he liked him
[ra:h]	: he saw him
[ʒɛ:h]	: he came to him

The following are typical examples of suffixed verbs:

[sarqo]	: he robbed him
[ra:h]	: he saw him
[sraqhɛ]	: he robbed her
[ra:hɛ]	: he saw her
[sarqük]	: he robbed you
[ra:k]	: he saw you
[sraqni]	: he robbed me
[ra:ni]	: he saw me
[sraqhum]	: he robbed them
[ra:hum]	: he saw them
[sraq:om]	: he robbed you (pl.)
[ra:kum]	: he saw you (pl.)
[sraqnɛ]	: he robbed us
[ra:nɛ]	: he saw us

Regular strong verbs in perfect 3rd p. sing. masc. get the pattern CaCC whenever followed by the suffixes /ik/ or /u/.

[ðarbu]	: he hit him
[ðarbik]	: he hit you
[ʔarfik]	: he knew you

Indirect object suffixes

Only transitive verbs can immediately be followed by a pronominal suffix since intransitive verbs are always affixed with the preposition {ʔi} followed by the pronominal suffixes. Final-weak verbs get the stem vowel lengthened when followed by a pronominal suffix.

[ra:h]	: he saw him
[ʒɛ:kum]	: he came to you

The vowel of the perfective suffix /nɛ/ and the 3rd p. masc. suffix /u/ are also lengthened when followed by the preposition {li} with the pronominal suffix.

[qrü:nɛ:lu]	: we read for him
[kitbu:lu]	: they wrote to him
[nikætbu:lu]	: we write to him

Prepositions and substantives are followed by the following pronominal suffixes:

Singular

3rd p. masc.	(C+)-u, (V+)-h
3rd p. fem.	hɛ
2nd p. c.	(C+)-ik, (V+)-k
1st p. c.	(C+)-i, (V+)-ya

Plural

3rd p. c.	-hum
2nd p. c.	-kum
1st p. c.	-nɛ

The pronoun of the 1st p. sing. has as the morphemes {k} and {u} two phonemic shapes: /i/ when preceded by a consonant and /ya/ after a vowel.

[da:rü]	: my house
[bi:ya]	: with me

Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are indirect object personal pronouns being suffixed to substantives. However the pronominal morphemes are identical with the above-mentioned personal pronouns. Comparing the two sets, we notice syntactical and semantical differences only.

[mɛ:yɛ]	: my water	[ktɛ:bi]	: my book	[xzɛ:nti]	: my cupboard
[mɛ:k]		[ktɛ:bik]		[xzɛ:ntik]	
[mɛ:h]		[ktɛ:bu]		[xzɛ:ntu]	
[mɛ:hɛ]		[ktɛ:bhɛ]		[xzɛ:nithɛ]	
[mɛ:nɛ]		[ktɛ:bnɛ]		[xzɛ:nitnɛ]	
[mɛ:kum]		[ktɛ:bkum]		[xzɛ:nitkum]	
[mɛ:hum]		[ktɛ:bhum]		[xzɛ:nithum]	

Marked feminine nouns get the phonemic shape ----t¹⁸ where the noun changes pattern in accordance with the following rules:

Feminine nouns of the pattern Ca:CCa get the pattern Ca:CiCt when followed by the suffixes /i/, /ik/ or /u/ and the pattern Ca:CCit when followed by

¹⁸ The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Tunis (Jewish), see D. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, p. 217.

consonantal suffixes.

[t̥a:wilti]	: my table
[t̥a:wiltik]	: your table
[t̥a:wiltu]	: his table
[t̥a:wilt̥h̥]	: her table
[q̥a:blit̥n̥]	: our midwife
[q̥a:blit̥kum]	: your (pl.) midwife
[q̥a:blithum]	: their midwife

Nouns of the pattern maCəCCa get the structure maCəCCit when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant and the structure maCCaCt when the following suffix begins with a vowel:

[mat̥əb ^o a]	: printing-house
[mat̥əb ^o ut̥n̥]	: our printing-house
[mat̥əb ^o üt̥kum]	: your (pl.) printing-house
[mat̥əb ^o üthum]	: their printing-house
[mat̥b̥a ^o tu]	: his printing-house
[mat̥b̥a ^o ti]	: my printing-house
[mat̥b̥a ^o tik]	: your printing-house

The vowel /i/ in nouns of the pattern Ca:CiC is elided when followed by the suffixes /i/, /ik/ or /u/.

[s̥a:h̥üb]	: friend
[s̥a:h̥bi]	: my friend
[s̥a:h̥bik]	: your friend
[s̥a:h̥bu]	: his friend

Only final /a/ or /u/ noun stems may be followed by the suffix /ya/, i.e. noun stems ending with /i/ form a periphrastic construct.

[m̥ɛ:y̥ɛ]	: my water
[xu:y̥ɛ]	: my brother
[in:bi m̥t̥ɛ: ^o ü]	: my prophet

2.9.2 Relative pronouns

The dialect of Sūsa has two relative pronouns: {ɛl:i} and {m̥ɛ} . It can however be noticed that {ɛl:i} is most usual since {m̥ɛ} occurs in certain idioms of the older generation only.

2.9.2.1 The relative pronoun {ɛl:i}¹⁹

{ɛl:i} has /l:i/ as an allomorph when occurring in close transition preceded by a word ending in a vowel.

[limra l:i bɛ:püt id:a:r mɛ:tit] : the woman who sold the house died

[əlxu l:i ʒɛ raw:ah] : the brother who came went home

[wildi l:i ʒɛ:k] : my son who came to you

{ɛl:i} has an /ɛl:/ allomorph when occurring in close transition followed by a word beginning with a vowel.

[lɛrneb ɛl: ɛy:ɛ:mhe maʔdu:dɛ] : the rabbit the days of which are counted

[lulɛd: ɛl: ismu ɤli] : the boy whose name is Ali

[ir:a:ʒil ɛl: um:u mɛ:tit] : the man whose mother died

{ɛl:i} has an allomorph /l:/ when occurring in close transition between two vowels.

[rü:t limra l: isəmhe fa:tma] : I saw the woman who is called Fatma

[rü:t əlxo l: um:u hnɛ] : I saw the brother whose mother is here

2.9.2.2 The relative pronoun {mɛ}

Only men in the older generation use {mɛ}.

men of the older generation

[nsi:t mɛ ɤmɛl:i] : I forgot what he did to me

[hki:tlik mɛ qal:i] : I told you what he said to me

other speakers

[nsi:t ɛl:i ɤmɛl:i]

[hki:tlik ɛl:i qal:i]

2.9.3 Demonstrative adjectives and pronouns

Demonstrative adjectives can be followed by a noun inflected for definiteness whereas demonstrative pronouns cannot.

2.9.3.1 Adjectives

In the dialect of Sūsa there are two types of demonstrative adjectives: demonstratives indicating near objects (referred to as near demonstratives) and demonstratives indicating far objects (referred to as far demonstratives).

¹⁹ The dialect of Sūsa has as many other North African dialects the morpheme {ɛl:i}, cf. e.g. W. MARÇAIS, Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen, pp. 175-176, M. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger, pp. 349-350, STUMME, Grammatik des tunesischen Arabisch, p. 121, and D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 218.

Near demonstratives

There is only one adjective which gets the morphophonemic shape $h\epsilon l---$ when followed by a noun beginning with the sequence lV , and the morphophonemic shape $h\epsilon--$ when followed by a noun with the initial sequence iCC .

$[h\epsilon-l:imra \gamma niy:\epsilon]$: this woman is rich
$[h\epsilon-l:\epsilon hwe b\epsilon:hi]$: this air is good
$[h\epsilon-l:ul\epsilon d: ya^p rafni]$: this boy knows me
$[h\epsilon-n:s\epsilon q\alpha l:qo:ni]$: these women disturbed me
$[h\epsilon-s:i:d kbi:r]$: this lion is big
$[h\epsilon-l\eta anu:t w\epsilon:si^p]$: this shop is large

Far demonstratives

There is only one demonstrative adjective indicating far objects, i.e. $\{h\epsilon ki\}$. This morpheme does not undergo any phonological or morphological changes.

$[h\epsilon ki-s:fi:h]$: that liar
$[h\epsilon ki-l:imra]$: that woman
$[h\epsilon ki-n:s\epsilon ki\theta bu]$: those women lied
$[h\epsilon ki-lb\epsilon:b mahlu:l]$: that door is open

Both near and far demonstratives can occur in compound form usually used when presenting:²⁰

$[h\epsilon hu:w\epsilon \alpha li]$: here is Ali
$[h\epsilon hi:ye fa:tma]$: here is Fatma
$[h\epsilon hu:m\epsilon]$: here they are
$[h\epsilon ku:w\epsilon f\epsilon th\ddot{u}i]$: there is Fathi
$[h\epsilon ki:ye um:u]$: there is his mother
$[h\epsilon ku:m\epsilon]$: there they are

2.9.3.2 Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns show inflection for gender, number and distance.

Near demonstratives

sing. masc.	$[h\epsilon:\delta\epsilon]$
sing. fem.	$[h\epsilon:\delta i]$
sing. c.	$[h\epsilon\delta u:m\epsilon]$ ²¹

Illustrative examples

$[h\epsilon:\delta\epsilon w\lambda\epsilon d b\epsilon:hi]$: this is a good boy
$[h\epsilon:\delta i mra m\epsilon hbu:l\epsilon]$: this is a crazy woman
$[h\epsilon\delta u:ma \xi^p a:b]$: these are difficult

²⁰ The same phenomenon occurs in the dialect of Tlemcen, see W. MARÇAIS, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, p. 124.

²¹ The dialect of Sūsa does not have the form $/ha\delta u:la/$ which occurs in the dialect of Tunis, see STUMME, *Grammatik des tunesischen Arabisch*, p. 118.

Far demonstratives

There are two types of pronouns depending on the distance: pronouns indicating short distance and others denoting long distance.

Pronouns denoting short distance

sing. masc.	[hɛ:kɛ]
sing. fem.	[hɛ:ki]
pl. c.	[hɛ:kum] ~ [hɛku:mɛ]

Illustrative examples

[hɛ:kɛ wildi]	: that (one) is my son
[hɛ:ki um:u]	: that (one) is his mother
[hɛku:mɛ ʒɛ:w ilyu:mɛ]	: those came today

The plural form has two alternating allomorphs: /hɛ:kum/ and /hɛku:mɛ/.

Pronouns denoting long distance

sing. masc.	[hɛðɛ:kɛ]
sing. fem.	[hɛði:kɛ]
pl. c.	[hɛðu:kum] ~ [hɛðu:kɛ]

Illustrative examples

[hɛðɛ:kɛ bu:hum]	: that (one) is their father
[hɛði:kɛ um:i]	: that (one) is my mother
[hɛðu:kɛ wra:qū]	: those are my papers

2.9.4 Interrogative pronouns and adjectives

2.9.4.1 Pronouns

There are two interrogative pronouns in the dialect of Sūsa, i.e. {ku:n} 'who' and {ɛ:nɛ} 'which'

The morpheme {ku:n} can be followed by personal suffixes, free subject personal pronouns or verbs.

[ʃku:nhum]	: who are they?
[ʃku:n raw:ah]	: who went home?
[ʃku:n ɛ:ni]	: who am I?

The morpheme {ɛ:nɛ}²² has two allomorphs: /ɛ:nɛ/ when followed by a noun and /ɛnɛ:/ when preceding a personal suffix.

[ɛ:nɛ bagra]	: which cow?
[ɛ:nɛ mra]	: which woman?
[ɛnɛ:hu]	: which one (masc.)?
[ɛnɛ:hi]	: which one (fem.)?

²² The Jewish dialect in Tunis has the form /ä:ma/ instead of /ɛ:nɛ/, see D. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, p. 225.

{ε:ne} can get the following personal suffixes only:

3rd p. masc. sing. : [-hu]

3rd p. fem. sing. : [-hi]

3rd p. c. pl. : [-hum]

2.9.4.2 Adjectives

The morpheme {nuw:ε} 'what'

{nuw:ε} has /ɲuaw:ε/ as an allomorph when occurring as a free allomorph which can be followed by a noun being a head in a nominal or a state construct.

[ɲuaw:ε marɔ̃o] : what is his disease?

[ɲuaw:ε xüdmit wildik]: what is the job of your son?

{nuw:ε} has /ɲV/ as an allomorph when occurring as a prefix. The vowel is [ε] when the first consonant before the prefix is a laryngeal or a pharyngeal and [ə] elsewhere. The allomorph /ɲV/ can only be prefixed to a word beginning with the sequence CC-.

[əktib] : what did he write?

[əqra] : what did he read?

[əhkε] : what did he tell?

[εmεl] : what did he do?

{nuw:ε} has an /əʃ/ allomorph when prefixed to a word beginning with the sequence CV- or when suffixed to a word ending in a consonant.

[əʃqa:l] : what did he say?

[əʃbε:ɾ] : what did he sell?

[əʃbi:h] : what is the matter with him?

[ktibəʃ] : did he write?

{nuw:ε} has an /ʃ/ allomorph when suffixed to verbs or prepositions ending in a vowel.

[qra:ʃ] : did he write?

[bkε:ʃ] : did he weep?

[tikse:ʃ] : did he get enough clothes?

[ɾle:ʃ] : why?

[bε:ʃ] : with what?

[mne:ʃ] : of what?

2.9.5 Reciprocal pronouns

The dialect of Sūsa has the reciprocal pronoun [ba^ɾɔ̃] followed by plural pronominal suffixes.

[ɔ̃arbu b^ɾaɔ̃hum] : they hit each other

[ra:w bʔaðkum] : see each other (imp. pl.)

[busnə bʔaðnɛ] : we kissed each other

The morpheme {bʔað} has two allomorphs: the allomorph /bʔað/ mostly used by speakers of the younger generation and /baʔð/ which principally occurs in the older generation's idiolects.

The morpheme {bʔað} can be preceded by the following prepositions: [li] 'for', [min] 'from', [ʔlɛ] 'on', [mʔa] 'with', [fu:q] 'over' and [taht] 'under'.

[mʔɛ:w libʔaðhum] : they came to each other

[xðɛ:w mim bʔaðhum] : they took from each other

[tirmɛ:w ʔlɛ bʔaðhum] : they fell upon each other

[mʔɛ:w mʔa bʔaðhum] : they went with each other

[raqdu fu:q bʔaðhum] : they slept over each other

[txab:ɛ:w taht bʔaðhum] : they hid themselves under each other

2.9.6 Reflexive pronouns

The dialect of Sūsa has two reflexive pronouns: {ro:h} and {nifs}. The latter form occurs most often among the speakers of the older generation.²³ The reflexive pronouns are always followed by the pronominal suffixes.

[ðrab ro:hɔ] : he hit himself

[ixdim ʔlɛ nifsik] : work (imp.)

When followed by personal suffixes the phoneme /h/ of the pronouns [hɛ] and [hum] assimilates to /h/.

[ro:hü] : myself

[ro:hük] : yourself

[ro:hɔ] : himself

[ro:h:a] : herself

[ro:hɛ] : ourselves

[ro:hkum] : yourselves

[ro:h:om] : themselves

{nifs} gets the following morphophonological shapes when followed by the personal suffixes:

[nifsi] : myself

[nifsik] etc.

[nifsu]

[nifəshɛ]

[nifəsnɛ]

[nifəskum]

[nifəshum]

²³ In the Jewish dialect in Tunis the pronoun /nifs/ is more usual than the form /ru:h/, see D. COHEN, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, p. 218.

2.10 PREPOSITIONS

There are two types of prepositions: single and compound prepositions.

2.10.1 Single prepositions

2.10.1.1 {fi} 'in'

The morpheme {fi} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /fi/ before indefinite nouns beginning with a consonant or a vowel.

[fi-blɛ:di] : in my country

[fi-umu:ri] : in my affairs

Allomorph /fil/ before definite nouns beginning with the sequence IV.

[fil-lɑɸbɛ:nɛ] : in the blanket

[fil-lɛrnɛb] : in the rabbit

Allomorph /f/ when the following word is definite and begins with a vowel.

[f-əlɾü:lɛ] : in the family

[f-ilmɛ] : in the water

[f-is:ü:f] : in the summer

When followed by the pronominal suffixes the vowel of the preposition is realized as long.

[fi:yɛ] [fi:k]

[fi:h] [fi:hɛ]

[fi:nɛ] [fi:kum]

[fi:hum]

2.10.1.2 {bi} 'with'²⁴

{bi} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /bi/ when the following noun begins with two consonants.

[bi-flu:sik] : with your money

[bi-qlem] : with a pencil

Allomorph /bil/ when followed by definite nouns beginning with the sequence IV.

[bil-lɑɸbɛ:nɛ] : with the blanket

[bil-lɛhwɛ] : with the air

Allomorph /b/ elsewhere.

[bxat:ɔ] : with his (hand) writing

²⁴ For more details on the meanings of /bi/ see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, pp. 245-247.

[biʃ:ra:b] : with the wine
 [bəlʔa:r] : with the revilement

When the vowel disappears the preposition and the following word are brought into close transition. {bi} undergoes the same morphological changes as {fi} when followed by the personal suffixes.

2.10.1.3 {li} 'for'

The preposition {li} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /li/ when followed by nouns beginning by the sequence CC-:

[li-bne:tu] : for his daughters
 [li-kɛ:bhe] : for her dogs

Allomorph /liɫ/ when the following noun is definite and has the initial sequence CC-.

[liɫ-laḥwe:nit] : for the shops
 [liɫ-laḥku:mɛ] : for the government

Allomorph /iɫ/ when the following noun begins with the sequence CV:-.

[il-su:sɛ] : for Sūsa
 [il-qɑ:sim] : for Kasem

Allomorph /ɫ/ when the following noun begins with a vowel.

[ɫəɫü:lɛ] : for the family
 [lin:sɛ] : for the women
 [ɫilkɛɫb] : for the dog

The preposition gets different morphophonemic shapes when followed by the personal suffixes.

	Free forms	Bound forms
1st sing. c.	[li:li] ~ [li:ya]	[li] :[ktibətli] : you wrote to me
2nd sing. c.	[li:lik] ~ [li:k]	[lik] :[ktibətlik]
3rd sing. masc.	[li:lu] ~ [li:h]	[lu] :[ktibətlu]
3rd sing. fem.	[li:lhe] ~ [li:he]	[ilhe] :[ktibtilhe]
1st pl. c.	[li:lnɛ] ~ [li:nɛ]	[ilnɛ] :[ktibtilnɛ]
2nd pl. c.	[li:lkum] ~ [li:kum]	[ilkum] :[ktibtilkum]
3rd pl. c.	[li:lhɛ] ~ [li:hum]	[ilhɛ] :[ktibtilhɛ]

2.10.1.4 {min} 'from'

The preposition {min} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /min/ before indefinite nouns beginning with a consonant.

[min fra:nɛ] : from France
 [min tu:nis] : from Tunis

Allomorph /mɪl/ when the following noun is definite and begins with the definite allomorph /lV/.

[mɪl-lɛrnɛb]	: from the rabbit
[mɪl-lɑɐbɛ:nɛ]	: from the blanket

Allomorph /mn/ before indefinite nouns beginning with a vowel.

[mnum:u]	: from his mother
[mnɛhlu]	: from his family
[mnismu]	: from his name

Allomorph /m/ before definite nouns beginning with a vowel.

[min:sɛ]	: from the women
[mɔlɐü:1ɛ]	: from the family

Allomorph /min:/ when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a vowel.

[min:i]	[min:ik]
[min:u]	[minhɛ]
[min:ɛ]	[minkum]
[minhum]	

2.10.1.5 {ɾand} 'at'

Apart from the assimilation of /d/ to /n/ in the contiguity of the suffix /na/ the morpheme {ɾand} does not undergo any morphophonemic assimilations.

[ɾandi]	[ɾandik]
[ɾandu]	[ɾandhɛ]
[ɾan:ɛ]	[ɾandkum]
[ɾandhum]	

2.10.1.6 {mɾa} 'with'

The morpheme {mɾa} gets an allomorph /mɾa:/ when followed by the personal suffixes.

[mɾa:yɛ]	[mɾa:k]
[mɾa:h]	[mɾa:hɛ]
[mɾa:nɛ]	[mɾa:kum]
[mɾa:hum]	

2.10.1.7 {ɾlɛ} 'on'

The morpheme {ɾlɛ} has an allomorph /ɾli:/ when followed by the personal suffixes.

[ɾli:yɛ]	[ɾli:k]
[ɾli:h]	[ɾli:hɛ]
[ɾli:nɛ]	[ɾli:kum]
[ɾli:hum]	

2.10.1.8 {ʔa} 'about'²⁵

The morpheme {ʔa} can only be followed by a definite noun. The vowel of the definite article is dropped when preceded by the morpheme {ʔa}. The preposition {ʔa} has an allomorph /ʔaɫ/ before definite nouns with the definite article IV-.

[ʔaɫ-lahku:mɛ]	: about the government
[ʔaɫ-liktɛ:b]	: about the book

2.10.1.9 {bi:n} 'between'

The preposition {bi:n} does not undergo any morphological changes.

[bi:ni]	[bi:nik]
[bi:nu]	[bi:nhɛ]
[bi:n:ɛ]	[bi:nkum]
[bi:nhum]	

The morpheme {bi:n} gets the form [binɛ:t]²⁶ when inflected for plural.

[binɛ:tɛ]	[binɛ:tkum]
[binɛ:thum]	

2.10.1.10 {qbɛɪ} 'before'

{qbɛɪ} does not undergo any morphophonological changes when occurring as a free form.

[ri:tit qbɛɪ muħam:id]: I saw you before Mohammed

[mʃɛ qbɛɪ əɫħarb] : he went before the war

The morpheme {qbɛɪ} has an allomorph /qabl/ when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a vowel.

[qabli]	[qablik]
[qablu]	[qbɛɪhɛ]
[qbɛɪnɛ]	[qbɛɪkum]
[qbɛɪhum]	

2.10.1.11 {baʔd} 'after'

The morpheme {baʔd} gets an allomorph /baʔəd/ when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a consonant and an allomorph /baʔd/ elsewhere:

[baʔdi]	[baʔdik]
[baʔdu]	[baʔdhɛ]
[baʔdnɛ]	[baʔdkum]
[baʔdhum]	

²⁵ {ʔa} corresponds to the Classical Arabic /ʔan/ 'about'.

²⁶ The same form occurs in many Eastern Arabic dialects and is according to Barthélemy a survival from the Syriac form /bayna:θ/, see BARTHÉLEMY, Dic-

2.10.1.12 {wra} ~ {ura} 'behind'

/w/ alternates with /u/. The morpheme {wra} gets an allomorph /wra:/ when followed by the personal suffixes.

[ura:yɛ]	~ [wra:yɛ]	[wra:k]	~ [ura:k]
[ura:h]	~ [wra:h]	[wra:hɛ]	~ [ura:hɛ]
[ura:nɛ]	~ [wra:nɛ]	[wra:kum]	~ [ura:kum]
[ura:hum]	[wra:hum]		

2.10.1.13 {fu:q} 'over'

The /k/ of the personal suffix [kum] assimilates to /q/.

[fu:qü]	[fu:qü:k]
[fu:qo]	[fu:qhɛ]
[fu:qnɛ]	[fu:q:om]
[fu:qhum]	

2.10.1.14 {taht} 'under'

The morpheme {taht} gets an allomorph /taht/ when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a consonant and /taht/ elsewhere.

[tahti]	[tahtik]
[tahtu]	[tahtəthɛ]
[tahtətnɛ]	[tahtətkum]
[tahtəthum]	

2.10.1.15 {wošt} 'in the middle of'

{wošt} has a /wošt/ allomorph when followed by a personal suffix beginning with a consonant and /wošt/ elsewhere.

[woštü]	[woštük]
[woštə]	[woštəthɛ]
[woštətnɛ]	[woštətkum]
[woštəthum]	

2.10.1.16 {ki:f} 'like'²⁷

The morpheme has the following allomorphs:

tionnaire Arabe-Francais, Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem, I, p. 77.

²⁷ In the dialect of Sūsa as in the Jewish dialects in Tunis and Alger the form [ki:f] is a survival from the older forms /ki/ and /kayfa/. See D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 251, and M. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger, p. 366.

Allomorph /ki:f/ when followed by the pronominal suffixes.

[ki:fi]	[ki:fik]
[ki:fu]	[ki:fhɛ]
[ki:fnɛ]	[ki:fkum]
[ki:fhum]	

Allomorph /ki/ when followed by an indefinite noun beginning with a consonant or a vowel.

[ki-muħam:ɪd]	: like Mohammed
[ki-klɛ:bu]	: like his dogs
[ki-um:u]	: like his mother
[ki-ismi]	: like my name

Allomorph /kil/ before definite nouns having the definite allomorph /ɹV/

[kil-liqlɛm]	: like the pencil
[kil-liɹbɛ]	: like the play

Allomorph /k/ when followed by a definite noun beginning with a vowel.

[kid:a:r]	: like the house
[kilme]	: like the water
[kin:sɛ]	: like the women

2.10.1.17 {qad:} 'as big as', 'as old as'

{qad:} does not undergo any morphophonological changes.

[qad:i]	[qad:ik]
[qad:u]	[qad:hɛ]
[qad:nɛ]	[qad:kum]
[qad:hum]	

2.10.1.18 {blɛ:f} 'without'

The morpheme {blɛ:f} does not undergo any morphophonological changes and can only be followed by indefinite nouns.

[blɛ:f hwe:yiɜ]	: without clothes
[blɛ:f ɛrɛ:nib]	: without rabbits

2.10.1.19 {ħat:ɛ} 'even'

The morpheme {ħat:ɛ} does not undergo any morphophonological changes and can only be followed by nouns or free personal pronouns.

[ħat:ɛ lahɜɜɜr]	: even the stones
[ħat:ɛ hi:yɛ]	: even she

2.10.1.20 {ʒi:hit} 'round'

The morpheme {ʒi:hit} can only be followed by a noun.

[ʒi:hit su:sɛ] : round Sūsa

2.10.1.21 {qod:ɛ:m} 'in front of'

The morpheme {qod:ɛ:m} does not change morphophonologically.

[qod:ɛ:mi] [qod:ɛ:mik]

[qod:ɛ:mu] [qod:ɛ:mhɛ]

[qod:ɛ:mne] [qod:ɛ:mkum]

[qod:ɛ:mhum]

2.10.1.22 {mtɛ:ʳ} 'of'

This morpheme is used when forming an analytical genitival construct.

2.10.2 Compound prepositions

The prepositions [min], [mtɛ:ʳ] and [ki:f] possess more combinatory possibilities than other prepositions.

Figure 10: Possible preposition compounds

bi									+					+				+	+			+	
fi									+									+		+		+	
li																		+		+		+	
pa																							
pe														+				+		+			
min							+	+	+	+	+	+	+					+		+	+	+	
bi:n																		+		+		+	
band																		+				+	
rand																		+					
taht																		+		+		+	
qbel													+					+		+		+	
fu:q																		+		+		+	
wra																		+		+		+	
mra																				+		+	
qad:																		+		+		+	
ki:f							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+		+		+	
hat:ε																		+		+	+	+	
wošt																				+		+	
ble:ʃ																		+		+		+	
ʒi:hit																		+				+	
qod:ε:m																		+		+		+	
mte: p																							
1	2	bi	fi	li	pa	pe	min	bi:n	band	rand	taht	qbel	fu:q	wra	mra	qad:	ki:f	hat:ε	wošt	ble:ʃ	ʒi:hit	qod:ε:m	mte: p

2.11 ADVERBS

The dialect of Sūsa has four classes of adverbial membership:

- Pure adverbs which do not share membership with any other form-class, e.g. [hne] 'here'.
- Adverbs that are members of the adjective class, e.g. [mit:ax:ür] 'late'.
- Adverbs that are members of the noun class, e.g. [ilkuθra] 'the majority'.
- Adverbs that can occur as prepositions, e.g. [qbεī] 'before'.

Adverbs can be subdivided into two subgroups: single and compound. In order to avoid overlapping only pure adverbs are listed below.

2.11.1 Single adverbs

2.11.1.1 Adverbs of time

<u>Adverbs</u>		<u>Examples</u>	
[təw:ε]	: now	[imʃi təw:ε]	: go now (imp.)
[təw: təw:]	: a moment ago	[rū:tu təw: təw:]	: I saw him a moment ago
[di:mε]	: always	[di:mε yε:ku]	: he is always eating
[bikrū]	: early	[mʃi:t bikrū]	: I went early
[fi:sap]	: fast, quickly	[klε fi:sap]	: he ate quickly
[baɾdikε:yε]	: afterwards	[klε baɾdikε:yε]	: he ate afterwards
[mεzε:l]	: still	[mεzε:l yaqra]	: he is still reading

The adverb /mεzε:l/ can be inflected for aspect-tense and denotes past action.

Singular

3rd masc.	[mεzε:l]
3rd fem.	[mεzε:lit]
2nd c.	[mεzilt]
1st c.	[mεzilt]

Plural

3rd c.	[mεzε:lu]
2nd c.	[mεziltu]
1st c.	[mεzilnε]

The adverb /mεzε:l/ can modify a noun, a free personal pronoun, a verb in the imperfect or an adverb of place.

[mεzε:lit mra]	: she is still a lady
[mεzilt inti]	: it is still you

[mɛzilnɛ naqra:w]	: we are still reading
[mɛzɛ:l hnɛ]	: he is still here

2.11.1.2 Adverbs of place

<u>Adverbs</u>		<u>Examples</u>	
[hnɛ]	: here	[uqʁod hnɛ]	: stay here (imp.)
[ɣa:di]	: there	[yɛ:kuɫ ɣa:di]	: he eats there
[il:u:t̥a]	: down	[t̥a:h il:u:t̥a]	: he fell down
[ilbar:a]	: out	[uxroʒ ilbar:a]	: go out (imp.)
[it:ɛ:li]	: backwards	[imʃi t:ɛ:li]	: go backwards

2.11.1.3 Adverbs of manner

[hik:ɛ]	: like this	[aʁmil hik:ɛ]	: do like this (imp.)
[hik:ɛ:kɛ]	: like that	[iktib hik:ɛ:kɛ]	: write like that (imp.)

2.11.1.4 Adverbs of measure

[barʃɛ]	: much	[klɛ barʃɛ]	: he ate much
[ʃwey:ɛ]	: little	[yorqod ʃwey:ɛ]	: he sleeps little
[yɛ:sir]	: very	[bɛ:rüd yɛ:sir]	: very cold
[taqrü:b]	: about	[taqrü:b mi:tro]	: about one meter

2.11.2 Compound adverbs

2.11.2.1 Adverbs of time

[mim-bikrü]	: a moment ago	[ʒɛ mim-bikrü]	: he came a moment ago
[min-tɛw:ɛ]	: from now on	[min:tɛw:ɛ uʃroʒ ilmɛ]	: drink water from now on (imp.)

2.11.2.2 Adverbs of place

[min-hu:ni]	: from here	[ktib min-hu:ni]	: he wrote from here
[min-ɣa:di]	: from there	[ʒɛ min-ɣa:di]	: he came from there

2.11.2.3 Adverbs of manner

[bi-s:i:f] ²⁸	: forcibly	[hez:hɛ bi-s:i:f]	: he took her forcibly
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²⁸ The corresponding adverb to /bis:i:f/ in the Jewish dialect in Tunis, is [bəʃ:äyf], see D. COHEN, Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, p. 239.

[bi-s:yε:sε]	: kindly	[kɛl:mu bi-s:yε:sε]	: he spoke to him kindly
[bilpa:ni]	: purposely	[kɔib bilpa:ni]	: he lied purposely

2.11.2.4 Adverbs of measure

[pa:aqal:]	: at least	[xamε pa:aqal:]	: five at least
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2.11.3 Interrogative adverbs

2.11.3.1 Adverbs of time

[waqtε:]	: when	[waqtε:] m{ε}	: when did he go?
[nhara:]	: which day	[nhara:] raʒpüt	: which day did she come back?
[pamε:]	: which year	[pamε:] mε:t	: which year did he die?

2.11.3.2 Adverbs of place

[wi:n] ~ [fi:n]	: where	[wi:n yuskun]	: where does he live?
[lwi:n]	: whereto	[lwi:n mε:i]	: where are you going to?
[mni:n]	: where from	[mni:n ʒi:t]	: where did you come from?

The adverbs /wi:n/ and /fi:n/ can be followed by personal suffixes.

[wi:ni]	[wi:nik]
[wi:nu]	[wi:nhε]
[wi:n:ε]	[wi:nkum]
[wi:nhum]	

2.11.3.3 Adverbs of manner

[kifε:]	: how	[kifε:] xɔε]	: how did he take (it)?
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2.11.3.4 Adverbs of measure

[qad:ε:]	: how much	[qad:ε:] rbiḥ]	: how much did he win?
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Apart from the adverbs of place all the other interrogative adverbs get the suffix /ʃ/. The final vowel is always lengthened when followed by /ʃ/.

2.12 CONJUNCTIONS

2.12.1 Coordinate conjunctions

Coordinate conjunctions link verbs, adverbs, nouns, pronouns, clauses, phrases and sentences of the same structure.

2.12.1.1 [wɛ] 'and'

{wɛ} has the following allomorphs:

Allomorph /w/ when occurring between two vowels or between a word ending in a vowel and an other beginning with a single consonant.

[ʃrɛ dʒɛ:ʒɛ w-ɛrɛnb] : he bought a hen and a rabbit

[mʃɛ-w ʒɛ] : he went and came back

Allomorph /u/ when occurring between a word ending in a consonant and an other beginning with a consonant followed by a vowel.

[hɛm:ɛl u bɛ:s] : he embraced and kissed

[fɦim u ʒɛ:wib] : he understood and answered

Allomorph /wV/ when followed by a word beginning with two consonants. The vowel is /a/ when C₁ is a pharyngeal or a laryngeal and /i/ elsewhere.

[kɛlb wa ʔbɛ:d] : a dog and some people

[mra wa hɦmɛ:mɛ] : a woman and a pigeon

[mɛ wi bhɛ:yim] : water and donkeys

[mɛ wɛ hwɛ] : water and air

2.12.1.2 [wɛl:ɛ] 'or'

[mra wɛl:ɛ ra:ʒil] : a man or a woman

[kɛlb wɛl:ɛ bɦi:m] : a dog or a donkey

2.12.1.3 [ɛm:ɛ]....[wɛl:ɛ] 'either or'

[ɛm:ɛ kɛlb wɛl:ɛ kɛlbɛ]: either a dog or a bitch

2.12.1.4 [wlɛ:kin] 'but'

[qra wlɛ:kin mɛnzahɔʃ]: he studied but did not succeed

2.12.1.5 [mɛ χü:r mɛ] 'without'

[mʃɛ mɛ χü:r mɛ dfaʔ]: he went without paying

2.12.1.6 [mɛ]...[kɛ:n] 'only'

[mɛ ra kɛ:n wildu] : he saw his son only

2.12.1.7 [ʔaks mɛ] 'the contrary of'

[ʔmɛ] ʔaks mɛ qoltlu]

: he did the contrary of what I said
to him

2.12.1.8 [wiðɛbi] 'and then'

The linker {wiðɛbi} is always inflected for allocation and gets the final vowel lengthened when followed by a personal suffix.

[wiðɛbi:yɛ]

[wiðɛbi:k]

[wiðɛbi:h]

[wiðɛbi:hɛ]

[wiðɛbi:nɛ]

[wiðɛbi:kum]

[wiðɛbi:hum]

[kɛ:nu fqɑ:ra wiðɛbi:hum tiɣnɛ:w]

: they were poor and then they became
rich

Only the most frequent and most characteristic conjunctions of the dialect are listed above.

2.12.2 Subordinate conjunctions

Subordinate conjunctions introduce dependent clauses only. There are two types of conjunctions: single and compound. The compound conjunctions consist of prepositions compounded with a relative pronoun.

2.12.2.1 [waqtɛl:i] 'when'

[mɛ:tɪt waqtɛl:i ʔɛ]

: she died when he came

2.12.2.2 [ʔündmɛ] 'when'

[kɪpt ʔündmɛ bɾaθli]

: I wrote when he sent for me

2.12.2.3 [mɛl:i] 'since'

[mɛl:i mɛ:t bu:hɛ-w hi:yɛ tipki]

: she has been crying since her father
died

2.12.2.4 [qbɛl mɛ] 'before'

[mʃɛ qbɛl mɛ rü:tu]

: he went before I saw him

2.12.2.5 [i:ðɛ] 'if'

[nxa]l:so i:ðɛ yqol:i]

: I will pay him if he asks me to

2.12.2.6 [luɛ:n] 'if'

[yitəɲɛ luɛ:n yħüb:]

: he can become rich if he wants to

2.12.2.7 [bɛ:ʃ] 'in order to'

[mɛ il:i:byɛ bɛ:ʃ yixdim]

: he went to Libya in order to work

2.12.2.8 [ɾɛ xa:tür] 'because'

The conjunction {ɾɛ xa:tür} can be inflected for allocation.

[yɛlɾab ɾɛ xa:tɾo ʂü:r]

: he is playing because he is young

2.12.2.9 [ɾɛ ħasb mɛ] 'according to'

[ðarbu:h ɾɛ ħasb mɛ qal:i]

: they hit him according to what he
said to me

2.13 NEGATIVE PARTICLES

In the dialect of Sūsa, negation is expressed by different morphemes: {mɛ....}, {lɛ....wlɛ}, {ʔomr mɛ}, {miʃ} and {lɛ}.

The morpheme {mɛ....} occurs with verbs only. The suffix /ʃ/ is preceded by an epenthetic vowel when the verb ends in a consonant. Verbs having a final vowel get the vowel lengthened when followed by the suffix /ʃ/.

[mɛ ktibəʃ]	: he did not write
[mɛ yaʔrafəʃ]	: he does not know
[mɛ tɛdfaʔəʃ]	: do not pay (imp.)
[mɛ fihmu:ʃ]	: they did not understand
[mɛ yaqra:ʃ]	: he does not read
[mɛ tiʃrü:ʃ]	: do not buy (imp.)

The morpheme {lɛ....wlɛ} occurs with a multiple subject or a multiple predicate.

[lɛ ɛ:ni wlɛ hu:wɛ]	: neither me nor him
[lɛ wildi wlɛ bintu]	: neither my son nor his daughter
[lɛ ktib u lɛ qra]	: he did neither write nor read
[lɛ ybi:ʔ u lɛ yiʃrü]	: he does neither sell nor buy

The morpheme {ʔomr mɛ} is followed by perfective or imperfective verbs only. /ʔumr/ is always inflected for allocation and has the phonemic shape /ʔmur/ when followed by a suffix beginning with a consonant and the shape /ʔumr/ elsewhere.

[ʔomrü mɛ rü:tu]	: I have never seen him
[ʔomrük mɛ ʒi:tni]	: you have never come to me
[ʔomro mɛ yɛdfaʔ]	: he never pays
[ʔmurhe mɛ kitbitli]	: she has never written to me
[ʔmurnɛ mɛ niʃrü:yu]	: we never buy
[ʔmurkum mɛ dzuru:nɛ]	: you (pl.) never visit us
[ʔmurhum mɛ yɛ:klu]	: they never eat

The morpheme {miʃ} can never be followed by a verb, on the other hand it can precede any other word.

[miʃ kɛ:tib]	: not writing
[miʃ bɛ:hi]	: not good
[miʃ wildi]	: not my son
[miʃ inti]	: not you
[miʃ hnɛ]	: not here
[miʃ fi:saʔ]	: not fast
[miʃ mʔa:k]	: not with you

The morpheme {miʃ} can also be inflected for allocation. There is an allomorph /miʃ:/ when the following suffix begins with a vowel and /miʃ/ elsewhere.

[miʃni]	[miʃ:ik]
[miʃ:u]	[miʃhɛ]
[miʃnɛ]	[miʃkum]
[miʃhum]	

The morpheme {lɛ} occurs in isolated position or followed by a negative particle.

[lɛ]	: no
[lɛ miʃ ɛ:ni]	: no, it is not me

Conclusion

Compared with other dialects the vernacular of the Medina of Sūsa has many features which apply to the great majority of the sedentary Western dialects but has also other more conservative characteristics making of the dialect a typical sedentary 'Sāḥli' vernacular. The dialect of Sūsa has the following peculiarities:

PHONOLOGY

- The prevasive influence of emphasis on the adjoining segments.
- The devoicing of some consonants when occurring in close juncture before voiceless consonants.
- The voicing of some consonants when occurring in close juncture before voiced consonants.
- The loss of short vowels in unstressed open syllables.
- The complete disappearance of the glottal stop.
- The monophthongisation of the older diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ in initial and medial position into /u:/ and /i:/.
- The preservation of the older diphthongs in final position where their second component is doubled when preceded by a short /a/.
- The occurrence of both /q/ and /g/ as proper phonemes.
- The occurrence of the alveopalatal fricative /ʒ/.
- The occurrence of interdentals.

PHONOTACTICS

- The possibility for any initial sequence to begin with a consonant, a short or a long vowel.
- The occurrence of two- and three-consonant clusters in initial and medial position and two-consonant combinations in final position.

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

- The absence of dual form.
- The occurrence of a prefix /n(V)/ in the imperfect 1st p. sing.
- The occurrence of a suffix /u/ in the imperfect 1st p. pl.
- The occurrence of the verb form *f^{ra}:l*.
- The occurrence of the reflexive pattern *tif^{ra}l*.
- The identicalness of the stem of the imperative with the imperfect stem.
- The occurrence of the forms /xða/, /kla/, /ra/ and /ʒa/.
- The use of the active participle form /ʒa:y/.
- The neutralisation of the morphological opposition between the 2nd p. sing., masc. and fem.
- The occurrence of vowel harmony in the imperative and the imperfect.
- The change of /ʔ/ into /h/ in Classical verbs with medial hamza.

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

- The high frequency of substantive patterns CCVC and CVCC.
- The occurrence of the form /zu:z/.
- The productivity of the Turkish suffix /ʒi/.
- Adjectives having the pattern CCu and CCi get the feminine marker /w:a/ and /y:a/ respectively.
- The absence of the 2nd p. sing. fem. of personal pronouns.
- The occurrence of the personal pronoun form /a:ni/.
- The absence of the relative pronoun /ad:i/.
- The occurrence of two types of far demonstrative pronouns: pronouns denoting short distance and others denoting long distance.
- The absence of the indefinite article (/wa:lyid/ + definite noun).
- The occurrence of cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 with morphophonemic shape ---n, when occurring in construct state.

Comparison between three different North African dialects

I PHONOLOGY¹ AND PHONOTACTICS

	Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
	Consonants		
Bilabials	b, m	b, ɸ, m, ɱ,	p, b, m
Labiodentals	f	f, v	f
Interdentals	θ, ð, ʃ		θ, ð, ʃ
Dental + (alveolars)	t, ʈ, d, s, z, ʂ, l, n, r	t, ʈ, d, ɖ, s, ʂ, z, ʐ, l, ɺ, n, ɳ	t, ʈ, d, l, n, r, s, z, ʂ
Palatals	ʃ, ʒ	ʃ, ʒ, r, ɹ, k, g	ʃ, ʒ, k, g
Velars	k, g	x, ɣ	x, ɣ, q
Uvulars + (postvelars)	q, x	q	
Pharyngals	ʁ, ħ	ħ, ʁ	ħ, ʁ
Laryngals	h		h
	Semi-vowels		
	w, y	w, y	w, y
	Vowels		
	i, u, a, i:, u:, a:	ə, a, o, i:, u:, a:	a, ɑ, ɔ, ɐ, ɛ, o, ə, i, j, u, u:, i:, j:, y:, u, o:, ɑ:, ɑ:
	Diphthongs		
	aw, ay	aw, ay	ai, au
	Syllable patterns		
	V, V:, CV, CV:, VC, V:C CVC, CV:C, CVCC, CCVC CCV, CCV:, CV:CC, CCVCC, CCV:C, CCCVC CCCVC	V:, CV:, VC, V:C, CVC CV:C, CVCC, CCVC, CCVCC, CCCVC, CCV:C, CCVCC, CCCV:C	

¹ The author took the liberty of changing the transcription used by GRAND-
HENRY and D. COHEN. Eventual divergencies in the classification of the sound
phonemes in the different dialects depend mainly on the various views of the

Perf.	ktib	yiktib	ktab	yaktab	ktib	yaktab	ktib	yaktab	Perf.
Imperf.	ktipt	tiktib	ktbt	taktab	ktbt	taktab	ktbt	taktab	Imperf.
ktipt	niktib	ktbt	naktab	ktbt	naktab	ktbt	naktab	ktbt	Imperf.
ktibu	yiktibu	ktbu	yaktbu	ktbu	yaktbu	ktbu	yaktbu	ktbu	Perf.
ktiptu	tiktibu	ktbtu	taktabu	ktbtu	taktabu	ktbtu	taktabu	ktbtu	Imperf.
ktibne	niktibu	ktbna	naktbu	ktbna	naktbu	ktbna	naktbu	ktbna	Imperf.

Principles

[illegible]

Imperative

$\{id:n$	$\{ad:n$	$\{ad:n$	$\{id:n$
Participles			
$\{e:tid \sim \{e:d$	$\{a:ded. m\}du:d$	$\{e:tid \sim \{e:d$	$\{e:tid \sim \{e:d$

authors about the manner
Cherchell, did not ment
phenomes or allophones.

Verbal Morphology

Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
wzin	yu:zin	uʒān.	yū:ʒān	uqáf	yóuqəf
wiznit	tu:zin	wāʒnət	tū:ʒān	wóqfət	ʔouqəf
wzint	tu:zin	uʒānt	tū:ʒān	uqáfʔ	ʔóuqəf
				uqáfʔi	ʔaw:óqfi
wzint	nu:zin	uʒānt	nū:ʒān	uqáfʔ	nóuqəf
wiznu	yu:znu	wāʒnu	yū:ʒnu	woqfu	yīw:óqfu
wzintu	tu:znu	uʒāntu	tū:ʒnu	uqáfʔu	ʔaw:óqfu
wzin	nu:znu	uʒān:ā	nū:ʒnu	uqáfna	naw:óqfu

Imperative

u:zin	u:znu	ū:ʒān	(ū:ʒnu)	óuqəf	aw:óqfi	aw:óqfu
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Participles

wə:zin	muzu:n	wā:həl	muʒu:n	wa:qəf	məʒu:ʔ
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
xa:f	ixa:f	xā:f	ixā:f	bā:ʔ	ibā:ʔ
xa:fit	txa:f	xā:fət	txā:f	bā:ʔət	ʔbā:ʔ
xoft	txa:f	xöft	txā:f	bətt	ʔbā:ʔ
				bətti	ʔbā:ʔi
xoft	nxa:f	xöft	nxā:f	bətt	nbā:ʔ
xa:fu	ixa:fu	xā:fu	ixā:fu	bā:ʔu	ibā:ʔu
xoftu	txa:fu	xöftu	txā:fu	bəttu	ʔbā:ʔu
xofne	nxa:fu	xöfnā	nxā:fu	bəʔna	nbā:ʔu

Imperative

xa:f	xa:fu	xā:f	xā:fu	bā:ʔ	bā:ʔi	bā:ʔu
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Participles

xa:yif	xā:yəf	bā:yīʔ
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Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
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Verbal Morphology

Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
bdε	yεbdε	bdā	yābdā	nsa	yensa
bdε:t	tεbdε	bdā:t	tābdā	nsa:ʔ	tensa
bdi:t	tεbdε	bdi:t	tābdā	nsi:ʔ	tensa
				nsi:ʔi	tēnsa:i
bdi:t	nεbdε	bdi:t	nābdā	nsi:ʔ	nensa
bdε:w	yεbdε:w	bdā:w	yābdā:w	nsa:u	yēnsa:u
bdi:tu	tεbdε:w	bdī:tu	tābdā:w	nsi:ʔu	tēnsa:u
bdi:nε	nεbdε:w	bdī:nā	nābdā:w	nsi:na	nēnsa:u

Imperative

εbdε	εbdε:w	abdā	abdā:w	ansa	ansa:i	ansa:u
------	--------	------	--------	------	--------	--------

Participles

bε:di	mibdi	mā:ʔi	mābdi	nε:si	mānsi
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
ɣarbil	iɣarbil	ɣārbəl	iɣārbəl	tərdzəm	yītərdzəm
ɣarblit	tɣarbil	ɣārbəl̄t	tɣārbəl	tərdzəm̄t	ʔtərdzəm
ɣarbɛlt	tɣarbil	ɣārbəlt	tɣārbəl	tərdzəm̄t	ʔtərdzəm
				tərdzəm̄ʔi	ʔtərdzəmi
ɣarbɛlt	nɣarbil	ɣārbəlt	nɣārbəl	tərdzəm̄t	ntərdzəm
ɣarblu	iɣarblu	ɣārb̄lu	iɣārb̄lu	tərdz̄mu	yīʔərdz̄mu
ɣarbɛltu	tɣarblu	ɣārb̄əltu	tɣārb̄lu	tərdz̄əm̄ʔu	ʔtərdz̄mu
ɣarbɛlnε	nɣarblu	ɣārb̄əlnā	nɣārb̄lu	tərdz̄əm̄na	ntərdz̄mu

Imperative

ɣarbil	ɣarblu	ɣārbəl	ɣārb̄lu	tərdzəm	tərdz̄mi	tərdz̄mu
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Participles

ɣarbε:l	mɣarbɛl	mɣārbəl	mtərdzəm
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Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
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Verbal Morphology

Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
bəd:il	ibəd:il	bād:əl	ibād:əl	dəx:əl	yīdāx:əl
bəd:lit	tbəd:il	bād:lət	tbād:əl	dəx:lēt	tdāx:əl
bəd:əlt	tbəd:il	bād:əlt	tbād:əl	dəx:əlṭ dəx:əlṭi	tdāx:əl tdāx:li
bəd:əlt	nbəd:il	bād:əlt	nbād:əl	dəx:əlṭ	ndāx:əl
bəd:lu	ibəd:lu	bād:lu	ibād:lu	dəx:lu	yidāx:lu
bəd:əltu	tbəd:lu	bād:əltu	tbād:lu	dəx:əlṭu	tdāx:lu
bəd:əlne	nbəd:lu	bād:əlne	nbād:lu	dəx:əlne	ndāx:lu

Imperative

bəd:il	bəd:lu	bād:əl	bād:lu	dəx:əl	dəx:li	dəx:lu
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Participles

mbəd:il	mbəd:əl	mbād:əl	mdəx:əl
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Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
ḥa:rüb	iḥa:rüb	fā:tən	ifā:tən	ḥa:rāb	yīḥa:rāb
ḥa:rbit	tḥa:rüb	fā:tnət	tfā:tən	ḥa:rḇet	tḥa:rāb
ḥa:rūbt	tḥa:rüb	fātānt	tfā:tən	ḥa:rābṭ ḥa:rābṭi	tḥa:rāb tḥa:rbi
ḥa:rūbt	nḥa:rüb	fātānt	nfā:tən	ḥa:rābṭ	nḥa:rāb
ḥa:rbu	iḥa:rbu	fā:tnu	ifā:tnu	ḥa:rḇu	yīḥa:rḇu
ḥa:rūbtu	tḥa:rbu	fātāntu	tfā:tnu	ḥa:rābṭu	tḥa:rḇu
ḥa:rübne	nḥa:rbu	fātēn:ā	nfā:tnu	ḥa:rābna	nḥa:rḇu

Imperative

ḥa:rüb	ḥa:rḇu	fā:tən	fā:tnu	ḥa:rāb	ḥa:rbi	ḥa:rḇu
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Participles

mḥa:rüb	mḥā:nād	mḥa:rāb
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Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
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Verbal Morphology

Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
tkɛl:ɛm	yitkɛl:ɛm	tkəl:am	yatkəl:am	tkɛl:af	yitkɛl:af
tkɛl:mit	titkɛl:im	tkəl:mət	tatkəl:am	tkɛl:fət	ʔatkɛl:af
tkɛl:ɛmt	titkɛl:im	tkəl:amt	tatkəl:am	tkɛl:əft	ʔatkɛl:af
				tkɛl:əfti	ʔatkɛl:fi
tkɛl:ɛmt	nitkɛl:im	tkəl:amt	natkəl:am	tkɛl:əft	natkɛl:af
tkɛl:mu	yitkɛl:mu	tkəl:mu	yatkəl:mu	tkɛl:fu	yitkɛl:fu
tkɛl:ɛmtu	titkɛl:mu	tkəl:amtu	tatkəl:mu	tkɛl:əftu	ʔatkɛl:fu
tkɛl:ɛmne	nitkɛl:mu	tkəl:amnə	nəkəl:mu	tkɛl:əfna	natkɛl:fu

Imperative

itkɛl:im	itkɛl:mu	atkəl:am	atkəl:mu	atkɛl:af	atkɛl:fi	atkɛl:fu
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Participles

mitkɛl:im		mətʔəd:əb		mətkɛl:af	
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
tse:miḥ	yitse:miḥ	tʔə:ʒab	yəʔə:ʒab	tsa:məḥ	yitsa:məḥ
tse:mḥūt	titse:miḥ	tʔə:ʒbat	təʔə:ʒab	tsa:mḥəʔ	ʔətsa:məḥ
tse:miḥt	titse:miḥ	tʔə:ʒabt	təʔə:ʒab	tsa:məḥʔ	ʔətsa:məḥ
				ʔsa:məḥʔi	ʔətsa:mḥi
tse:miḥt	nitse:miḥ	tʔə:ʒabt	nəʔə:ʒab	tsa:məḥʔ	nətsa:məḥ
tse:mḥo	yitse:mḥo	tʔə:ʒbu	yəʔə:ʒbu	tsa:mḥu	yitsa:mḥu
tse:miḥtu	titse:miḥ	tʔə:ʒabtu	təʔə:ʒbu	tsa:məḥʔu	ʔətsa:mḥu
tse:miḥne	nitse:mḥo	tʔə:ʒəbnə	nəʔə:ʒbu	tsa:məḥna	nətsa:mḥu

Imperative

tse:miḥ	tsɛ:mḥu	əʔə:ʒab	əʔə:ʒbu	ətsa:məḥ	ətsa:mḥi	ətsa:mḥu
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Participles

mitse:miḥ	məʔə:ʒab	mətsa:mḥi:n
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Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
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Verbal Morphology

Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
tif3a ^o	yitəf3a ^o	t ^o f3ā ^o	yət ^o f3ā ^o	n ^o d3rāḥ	yánd3rāḥ
tfe3 ^o ūt	titəf3a ^o	tfā3 ^o ət	tət ^o f3ā ^o	n ^o d3rāḥət	tnád3rāḥ
tif3a ^o t	titəf3a ^o	t ^o f3ā ^o t	tət ^o f3ā ^o	n ^o d3rāḥt n ^o d3rāḥti	tnád3rāḥ tánd3ārḥi
tif3a ^o t	nitəf3a ^o	t ^o f3ā ^o t	nat ^o f3ā ^o	n ^o d3rāḥt	nnád3rāḥ
tfe3 ^o u	yitfe3 ^o	tfā3 ^o u	yətfā3 ^o u	nd3rāḥu	yənd3ārḥu
tif3a ^o tu	titfe3 ^o	t ^o f3ā ^o tu	t ^o tfā3 ^o u	n ^o d3rāḥtu	tánd3ārḥu
tif3a ^o ne	nitfe3 ^o	t ^o f3ā ^o na	n ^o tfā3 ^o u	n ^o d3rāḥna	nənd3ārḥu

Imperative

itəf3a ^o	itfe3 ^o	ət:əf3ā ^o	ətḥā3 ^o u	ánd3rāḥ and3ārḥi and3ārḥu
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Participles

məf3u: ^o					
Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
ḥte:3	yaḥte:3	ḡa:f	yəḡā:f	ḥṭa:d3	yīḥṭa:d3
ḥte:3it	taḥte:3	ḡa:fət	təḡā:f	ḥṭa:d3ət	təḥṭa:d3
ḥtizt	taḥte:3	ḡāft	təḡā:f	ḥṭād3t ḥṭād3ti	təḥṭa:d3 təḥṭa:d3
ḥtizt	naḥte:3	ḡāft	nəḡā:f	ḥṭād3t	nəḥṭa:d3
ḥte:3u	yaḥte:3u	ḡā:fu	yəḡā:fu	ḥṭa:d3u	yīḥṭa:d3u
ḥtiztu	taḥte:3u	ḡāftu	təḡā:fu	ḥṭād3tu	təḥṭa:d3u
ḥti3ne	naḥte:3u	ḡāfna	nəḡā:fu	ḥṭād3na	nəḥṭa:d3u

Imperatives

ḥte:3	ḥte:3u	əḡā:f	əḡā:fu	
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Participles

muḥte:3	məyā:n	məḥṭa:d3
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Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
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Verbal Morphology

Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.	Perf.	Imperf.
steḥsen	yisteḥsin	ʃtāʔʒab	yəʃtāʔʒab	stāḥsēn	yīstāḥsēn
steḥʕnit	tisteḥsin	ʃtāʔʒabət	təʃtāʔʒab	stāḥsnət	təstāḥsēn
steḥsent	tisteḥsin	ʃtāʔʒabt	təʃtāʔʒab	stāḥsēnt	təstāḥsēn
				stāḥsēnti	təstāḥsni
steḥsent	nisteḥsin	ʃtāʔʒabt	nəʃtāʔʒab	stāḥsēnt	nəstāḥsēn
steḥʕnu	yisteḥʕnu	ʃtāʔʒbu	yəʃtāʔʒabu	stāḥsnu	yīstāḥsnu
steḥsentu	tisteḥʕnu	ʃtāʔʒbtu	təʃtāʔʒbu	stāḥsēntu	təstāḥsnu
steḥsen:ə	nisteḥʕnu	ʃtāʔʒbnə	nəʃtāʔʒbu	stāḥsēn:ə	nəstāḥsnu

Imperative

steḥsin	steḥʕnu	əʃtāʔʒab	əʃtāʔʒbu	əstāḥsēn	əstāḥsni	əstāḥsnu
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Participles

misteḥsin	məʃtāʔʒab	məstāḥsēn
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Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
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Nominal Morphology

Personal Pronouns

Independent personal pronouns

Singular			
3rd p. masc.	hu:wε	uːwǎ (ǔw:ǎ)	hu:wa
3rd p. fem.	hi:yε	ĩ:yǎ (ĩy:ǎ)	hi:ya
2nd p. masc.	inti	ǎnti	ǎntǎ, ǎnt̃:a:ya
2nd p. fem.			ǎnt̃i, ǎnt̃i:ya
1st p. c.	ε:ni	ǎ:nǎ	q̃:na, q̃na:ya
Plural			
3rd p. c.	hu:mε	umǎ:n	hu:ma:n
2nd p. c.	ntu:mε	(ə)ntumǎ:n	əntu:ma:n
1st p. c.	aḥnε	ǎḥnǎ	ḥnǎ, ḥnǎ:ya

Bound personal pronouns

Singular			
3rd p. masc.	-u, -h	-u, -(h)	-u, -h, -u:h, -hu:
3rd p. fem.	-hε	-ä, -(h)ä	-äh, ha
2nd p. masc.	-k, -ik	-ək, -k	-ëk, -k
2nd p. fem.			
1st p. c.	-ni, -i, -ya	-ni, -i, -yă	-ni, -i, -ya
Plural			
3rd p. c.	-hum	-an (-ö̃m), -(h)an, -(h)ö̃m	-hūm
2nd p. c.	-kum	-kəm (-kö̃m)	-kü̃m
1st p. c.	-nε	-nă	-na

Sūsa	Tunis (Jewish)	Cherchell
Numerals		
Cardinals		
wε:hüd	wā:həd	wa:həd
θni:n, zu:z	tnā:yn, ʒāwʒ	zu:dʒ
θlε:θε	tlā:tā	θlɑ:θɑ
arbra	ārbrā, rārba	rār:bra
xamse	xām ā	xēmsɑ
sit:ε	ət:ā	sīt ɑ
sebra	əbrɑ	sābrɑ
θmenye	tmānyā	θmēnyɑ
tisra	tā rā	tāsra
ra ra	rā sra	rā ra
hdε:	hdā:	hdɑ:
θna:	tnā:	θna:
tlāt:a:	tlēt:ā:	θlēt:a:
arbrat:a:	ārbratā: ~ rārbatā:	rbārta:
xmastā:	xmōstā:	xmāstā:
sit:a:	spt:ā:	sāt:a:
sbatā:	sābrat:ā:	sbārta:
θmantā:	tmontā:	θmantā:
tisrat:a:	tāsratā:	tsārta:
rū rü:n	rōsri:n	rā ri:n

Tunisian dialects

On the basis of the incomplete data furnished by the literature and by my informants, it seems possible to particularize the different Tunisian dialect groups and furthermore outline major dialect boundaries by using selected features of the dialects. However the division in this study is preliminary and based mainly on the socio-economic differentiation which is reflected in the contrast between /q/ and /g/ and the variation of the personal pronouns. Primarily the Tunisian dialects can be divided into two main groups: urban and rural.

I URBAN AND RURAL DIALECTS

The division between urban and rural is reflected in a geographical division between the coastal area of the North and Central-East for the former and the rest of the country for the latter.

1.1 URBAN DIALECTS

The urban and the rural dialects may be called (from the 3rd p. sing. of the perfect of the verb 'to say') qa:l- and ga:l-dialects respectively. The urban, or qa:l, dialects are spoken in Bizerte, Tunis, Nabeul, Enfida, Sūsa, Kairouan and Sfax.¹ Generally speaking these have:

- the velar stop /q/ in the verb /qa:l/
- no gender opposition in sing. 2nd p. in free personal pronouns nor in any other pronouns or in the finite verbs.

1.2 RURAL DIALECTS

The rural, or ga:l, dialects have:

- the velar stop /g/ in the verb /ga:l/
- a gender opposition in sing. 2nd p. as well as in all pronouns and finite verbs.

¹ The dialects of Bizerte and Nabeul were not studied by the author.

II FURTHER DIALECTAL SUBDIVISION

Within each of the two above-mentioned regions there is a considerable variation which allows a further subdivision of the Tunisian dialects into four main groups.

2.1 NORTHERN DIALECTS

Northern dialects can be divided into three dialect groups: urban, rural and 'šba:li'-dialects (mountain dialects).

2.1.1 Urban Northern dialects

The dialect spoken in Tunis is a typical example of such a dialect type and has the following set of free personal pronouns:

Singular

3rd p. masc.	hu:wa
3rd p. fem.	hi:ya
2nd p. c.	enti
1st p. c.	ε:na

Plural

3rd p. c.	hu:ma
2nd p. c.	entu:ma
1st p. c.	aḥna

2.1.2 Rural Northern dialects

The dialect spoken in LeKef is chosen by the author and is a typical rural Northern dialect with the following set of free personal pronouns.

Singular

3rd p. masc.	huw:ε
3rd p. fem.	hiy:ε
2nd p. masc.	εnte
2nd p. fem.	εnti
1st p. c.	nε:yε

Plural

3rd p. c.	hu:mε
2nd p. c.	εtum
1st p. c.	nεḥnε

2.1.3 'ʒba:li'-dialects

The villages and towns situated on the left side of Oued Medjerda use so-called 'ʒba:li'-dialects (mountain dialects) which have features in common with North East Algerian vernaculars. Aïn Draham which represents such a dialect type has the following set of personal pronouns:

Singular

3rd p. masc.	huw:a
3rd p. fem,	hiy:a
2nd p. c.	enti
1st p. c.	ε:ne

Plural

3rd p. c.	hom:ε
2nd p. c.	ɛntum
1st p. c.	naħna

2.2 SĀḤIL DIALECTS

The Sāḥil dialects are of two main types: urban and semi-rural.

2.2.1 Urban dialects

Sūsa is a typical urban Sāḥil dialect but the dialect spoken in Enfida can also be regarded as urban though it has, like any dialect, other local peculiarities.

	<u>Sūsa</u>	<u>Enfida</u>
Singular		
3rd p. masc.	hu:wε	hu:wε
3rd p. fem.	hi:yε	hi:yε
2nd p. c.	inti	enti
1st p. c.	ε:ni	a:ni ~ nε:y
Plural		
3rd p. c.	hu:mε ~ humε	hu:ma
2nd p. c.	ntu:mε	entu:ma
1st p. c.	aħne	aħna

2.2.2 Semi-urban dialects

The semi-urban dialects are spoken in small villages and display features of both urban and rural dialects. However the biggest part of the speakers use the uvular stop /q/ in the verb /qa:l/.

2.3 CENTRAL WESTERN DIALECTS

The Central Western dialects are subdivided into two groups: urban and rural. The only existing urban dialect type is spoken in Kairouan and it resembles in several respects the East Arabic vernaculars. Rural dialects are spoken in the remaining towns and villages.

2.3.1 Urban dialects

The only representative urban Central Western dialect is the vernacular spoken in Kairouan having the following set of free personal pronouns:

Singular

3rd p. masc.	hu:wε
3rd p. fem.	hi:yε
2nd p. c.	εnti
1st p. c.	yε:nε

Plural

3rd p. c.	hu:ma
2nd p. c.	intu:ma
1st p. c.	nahna

2.3.2 Rural dialects

These are spoken in the remaining towns and small villages.

	<u>Gafsa</u>	<u>Queslatiya</u>	<u>Sbeitla</u>	<u>Sbikha</u>	<u>Sidi Amor bou Hajla</u>
Singular					
3rd p. masc.	hu:wε	huw:ε	hu:wε	hu:wε	huw:ε
3rd p. fem.	hi:yε	hiy:ε	hi:yε	hi:yε	hiy:ε
2nd p. masc.	εntε	intε	εntε	εntε	εntε
2nd p. fem.	enti	enti	enti	enti	enti
1st p. c.	εnε:yε	nε:yε	nε	nε:yε	nε
Plural					
3rd p. c.	hum	hum	hum	hu:mε	hum

2nd p. c.	ɛntum	ɛntum	antum	ɛntum	ɛntum
1st p. c.	naḥna ḥnɛ:yɛ	naḥnu	naḥna	ḥnɛ:yɛ	naḥna

2.4 SOUTHERN DIALECTS

The Southern dialects may be derived into three main groups: urban, rural and nomadic.

2.4.1 Urban dialects

The dialect of Sfax is an urban Southern dialect and has the following set of personal pronouns:

Singular

3rd p. masc.	hu:wa
3rd p. fem.	hi:ya
2nd p. c.	ɛnti
1st p. c.	ɛnɛ

Plural

3rd p. c.	hawma
2nd p. c.	ɛntawma
1st p. c.	aḥna

2.4.2 Rural dialects

Rural dialects are spoken in the other remaining towns and small villages.

Arram

Gabès

Singular

3rd p. masc.	huw:ɛ	huw:ɛ
3rd p. fem.	hiy:ɛ	hiy:ɛ
2nd p. masc.	ente	intɛ
2nd p. fem.	enti	inti
1st p. c.	ene:	ɛni:

Plural

3rd p. c.	hum:ɛ	hum:a
2nd p. c.	ɛntum	ɛntom
1st p. c.	ḥne	ḥne:

2.4.3 Nomadic dialects

Nomadic dialects are spoken by semi-pastoral people in Ksar Ghilane, Haddada and Fom Tataouine.¹

III CONCLUSION

Studied urban dialects²

Tunis [tu:nis]

Enfida [en:fi:ða]

Sousse [su:sa]

Kairouan [qürwa:n]

Sfax [sfa:qüs]

Studied rural dialects

Le Kef [əlke:f]

Sbikha [sbi:xa]

Oueslatiya [waslatiy:a]

Sidi Amor Bou Hajla [si:di ʔmor bu
ħaʒla]

Sbeitla [sbü:tla]

Gafsa [gafsa]

Gabès [ge:bis]

Arram [ʔar:a:m]

The personal pronouns in urban dialects

Singular

3rd p. masc. /hu:wa/ where V_2 is [a] or [ε].

3rd p. fem. /hi:ya/ where V_2 is [a] or [ε].

2nd p. c. /anti/ where V_1 is [i], [e] or [ε].

1st p. c. /a:na/ where V_2 is [i], [a] or [ε]. The dialect of Sfax has [εnε].

Plural

3rd p. c. /hu:ma/ where /a/ is realized as [a] or [ε].

2nd p. c. /(<a>ntu:ma/ where V_1 is [a], [ε] or absent. V_2 is [a] or [ε].³

1st p. c. /aħna/ ~ /naħna/

¹ The author could not reach the above-mentioned places for linguistic investigation due to security reasons.

² The dialect spoken in Aïn Draham is also urban and classified as a 'ʒba:li' vernacular.

³ The vernacular of Sfax has [ntawma] and [hawma].

The personal pronouns in rural dialects

Singular

3rd p. masc.	/hu:wa/ where the phoneme /a/ is [a] or [ɛ].
3rd p. fem.	/hi:ya/ where the phoneme /a/ is [a] or [ɛ].
2nd p. masc.	/anta/ where /a/ is realized as [e] or [ɛ]. V ₁ is also [i].
2nd p. fem.	/anti/ where V ₁ is [e] or [ɛ].
1st p. c.	[(ɛ)nɛ:yɛ] ~ [nɛ]

Plural

3rd p. c.	[hum(:ɛ)] ~ [hu:mɛ]
2nd p. c.	/antum/ where /a/ is [a] or [ɛ].
1st p. c.	[nahnu] [nahna] [h̥nɛ:yɛ] [h̥nɛ] [h̥ni:]

Gender distinction is preserved in all rural dialects, which is not the case in urban dialects where the contrast between 2nd p. sing. fem. and masc. is neutralised. The vowel /u/ in 2nd p. pl. is short in all rural dialects and long in the urban ones. However it should be noticed that /u:/ is replaced by the diphthong /aw/ in the Sfax dialect. Nomadic dialects are distinguished from rural and urban dialects by many peculiarities the most important of which is the use of the preposition {^oma} 'with' which is represented by {m^aa} in rural and urban vernaculars.

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